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COMPLETE

IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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THE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN:

INCLUDING THE WHOLE OF HIS

POSTHUMOUS PIECES, LETTERS, &c.

A NEW EDITION,

ACCURATELY REVISED, AND ARRANGED IN THE MOST NATURAL AND PROPER ORDER;

WITH

An Account of the AUTHOR'S LIFE,

AND

NOTES HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

By J. HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. and others.

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The DRAPIER's LETTERS continued.

A LETTER to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the year 1724.

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of deceit, and fought againſt me without a cauſe.
For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto prayer.
And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Pſal. cix. 3, 4, 5.
Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the mighty, and lay a ſtumbling block in the way of thy uprightneſs.
Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.
Bind not one ſin upon another; for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. Ecclus. vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr. HARDING,

WHEN I ſent you my former papers, I cannot ſay I intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet you have happened, through my means, to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and encreaſe the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is, of all others, the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for, as you deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny productions of pennyleſs ſcribblers; ſo, you often venture

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your liberty, and ſometimes your lives, for the purchaſe of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are puniſhed for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you, in particular, think you have reaſon to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in priſon, to your great expence, as well as hardſhip; and for a proſecution ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter ſtands. Since the preſs hath lain under ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe, who have a mind to inform the world, are become ſo cautious, as to keep themſelves, if poſſible, out of the way of danger. My cuſtom, therefore, is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written, we ſend to your houſe by a blackguard boy. But, at the ſame time, I do aſſure you, upon my reputation, that I never did ſend you any thing for which I thought you could poſſibly be called to an account. And you will be my witneſs, that I always deſired you, by a letter, to take ſome good advice, before you ventured to print; becauſe I knew the *dexterity* of *dealers in the law*, at finding out ſomething to faſten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly conſult ſeveral very able perſons; and even *ſome*, who afterwards *appeared againſt you*: to which I can only anſwer, that you muſt either change your *adviſers*, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I deſire you will ſend the incloſed letter, directed to my lord viſcount *Moleſworth*, at his houſe at *Brackdenſtown*, near Swords: but I would have it

it ſent *printed*, for the convenience of his lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publiſh it, I would have you firſt get it read over by ſome *notable* lawyer: I am aſſured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford, after all your expences. For, although I have taken ſo much care, that I think it impoſſible to find a topic out of the following papers, for ſending you again to priſon, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This enſuing letter contains only a ſhort account of myſelf, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, eſpecially the *laſt*: with little mention of Mr. Wood, or his *halfpence*; becauſe I have already ſaid enough upon that ſubject, until occaſion ſhall be given for *new fears*; and, in that caſe, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am
your friend
and ſervant
M. B.

From my ſhop in St. Francis-ſtreet, Dec. 14. 1724.

P. S. For want of intercourſe between you and me, which I never will ſuffer, * your people are apt to make very groſs errors in the preſs, which I deſire you will provide againſt.

* The copies were always ſent to the preſs by ſome obſcure meſſenger, who never knew the perſon from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuenſis only was truſted, to whom, about two years after, the author gave an employment of 40l. a year, as a reward for his fidelity.

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To the Right honourable

The Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH,

At his Houſe at Brackdenſtown, near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late, on the maxim of common obſervers, that thoſe, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reaſon to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified by a *proclamation*, promiſing a reward of three hundred pounds to the firſt *faithful* ſubject, who ſhall be able and inclined to *inform* againſt me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and induſtry* of my lord chief-juſtice Whitſhed, in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cauſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands good.

It will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe of human affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable to *legal* animadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for, either to God or his *country*: and condemned at Weſtminſter-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment*.

After ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ſome divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any * *malice* or *wickedneſs*

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

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ness against the public; of any *designs to sow sedition;* of *reflecting on the king and his ministers:* or of endeavouring *to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from those of* England. All I can charge myself with, is, a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction, by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conscience. God knows, whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who, upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *primunire* for *appealing to a foreign jurisdiction:* and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison; because *comparisons are odious.*

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is, to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the *Latin tongue.* I served my apprenticeship in London, and there set up for myself, with good success; until, by the *death of some friends, and misfortunes of others,* I returned into this kingdom; and began to em-

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ploy my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appear to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even some of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordship, at that time, did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of *black and white stuff*, just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my best customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolve for the future, to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened, some months ago, considering with myself, that the *lower and poorer sort of people* wanted a *plain, strong, coarse stuff, to defend them against cold* easterly *winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together*; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from *agues*. I then made a † *second* and a *third* kind of *stuffs* for the *gentry*, with the same success; insomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of* Irish *manufactures*.

† The *drapier*'s three first letters.

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This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a * *fourth* piece, made of the best Irish wool I could get: and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *lord* or *judge* of the land. But, of late, some *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *shuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage; cursing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it; so that I am determined never to *work for persons of quality* again: except for your *lordship*, and a *very few more*.

I assure your lordship, upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the sale of all the several *stuffs* I have contrived: for, I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *pressers* †. And therefore, I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could engage me to busy my head and hands, to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill-will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of stuff* to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the ‡ *shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former*. However, I shall *work* it up as well as I can; and, at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am

* The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.
† Printers.
‡ Meaning the present letter.

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I am very ſenſible, how ill your lordſhip is like to be entertained, with the pedantry of a *drapier*, in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very ſparingly, into an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controverſy with Mr. Wood, if ſome *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till ſome of them loſe their eſtates, and die in jail: ſo it may poſſibly fall out in my caſe, that, by *playing* too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine*, double to the reward for *betraying* me; be ſent to priſon, and *not be delivered thence, until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt farthing*.

There are, my lord, three ſorts of perſons, with whom I am reſolved never to diſpute: a *highwayman*, with a piſtol at my breaſt; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my houſe; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, *which are almoſt the ſame*, the beſt method is, to *keep out of the way;* and the next beſt is, to *deliver your money, ſurrender your houſe*, and *confeſs nothing*.

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, from which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords, upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I diſcourſe upon Ireland's being a *dependent kingdom*. As to the former, I can only ſay, that I have treated it with

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with the utmoſt reſpect and caution: and I thought it neceſſary, to ſhew where Wood's patent differed, in many eſſential parts, from all others that ever had been granted; becauſe the contrary had, for want of due information, been ſo ſtrongly and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of Ireland's *dependency*; I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to underſtand what it meant. This gave me the curioſity to enquire among ſeveral eminent lawyers, who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms, without the leaſt information, further than an Iriſh act, that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot ſay, I was *ſorry* to be diſappointed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon God and my *prince*, and the *laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations*. But, ſince my *betters* are of a *different opinion*, and deſire *further dependencies*, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet, ſtill inſiſting, in my own heart, upon the *exception* I made of M. B. *drapier*. Indeed, that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in England, which, perhaps, may be common and beaten; but, becauſe it *inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition*, I will juſt barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were ſo great, that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in, for making ſome new additions to the

power

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power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the houſe, ſtood up, and ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but, however, for ſome reaſons, beſt known to himſelf, he deſired, that a clauſe might be inſerted, for *excepting the family of the* Drues. The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were miſtaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although, indeed, not in ſo *effectual* and *deciſive a manner*. But, to affirm, as I hear ſome do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not *belong to my ſubject*, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by Wood, and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion;* that we diſputed the king's *prerogative*, and were ſhaking off our *dependency*. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a *great perſon* of this kingdom, now in England, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends, as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it, therefore, neceſſary, to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved, by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to diſpute his Majeſty's

jesty's *prerogative;* because the *prerogative* was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money.* And, lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our *dependency*, I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *dependency* consisted; and cited the statute above mentioned, made in Ireland: by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of* England, *shall be king of* Ireland: and that the two kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one king.* This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency;* because it was altogether out of our power: for, surely, no king of England will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But, upon this article, I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said, I *went too far*, when I declared, that "if ever the *pretender* should "come to be fixed upon the throne of England, "(which God forbid) I would so far venture to "transgress this statute, that I would lose the last "drop of my blood, before I would submit to him, "as king of Ireland."

This, I hear on all sides, is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which hath given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom England should receive. Now, if, in defending myself from this accusation, I should freely confess, that I *went too far;* that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned

casioned by my zeal for his present Majesty, and his protestant line in the house of Hanover; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment, and sorrow for my error, will be some atonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning, by a spiteful interpretation. And, therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordship a secret, wherein, I fear, you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this habit of writing and discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in London, and a long residence there, after I had set up for myself. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long conversant with the writings of your lordship,* Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of "liberty as a "blessing, to which the whole race of mankind "hath an original title; whereof nothing but "unlawful

* He published a book, in the reign of King William III. entitled, *The State of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkes.*

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"unlawful force can diveſt them." I knew a great deal of the ſeveral Gothic inſtitutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be deſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrolled and univerſally agreed maxim, that "freedom conſiſts in a people's being go-"verned by laws made with their own conſent; "and ſlavery in the contrary." I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors which have miſled me; and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time *grow wiſer*, and learn to conſider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to ſay, That the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would, in England, have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove, that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day:* and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your Lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and, what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that, as politics run, I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and, if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound, in honour, to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to *inform* againſt you, by way of *repriſal*.

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In the mean time, I beg your Lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that, if there be any ſuch thing as a *dependency* of Ireland upon England, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of God, of *nature*, of *reaſon*, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I ſhall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* againſt me the moſt *merciful* that ever was put out; and, inſtead of accuſing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *ſeditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treaſon*.

All I deſire, is, that the cauſe of my country againſt Mr. Wood, may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will aſſert, that it *depends* upon Mr. Wood. I ſhould be heartily ſorry, that this *commendable* ſpirit againſt me, ſhould accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) ſtrike a damp upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of men, againſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter, which they diſlike; and let no *ruſt* remain on my *ſword*, to cure the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where ſeveral things were to be *renounced*, he ſaid, he loved *renouncing*; aſked, if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleaſed. Although I am not ſo thorough a *renouncer*, yet, let me have but *good city ſecurity* againſt this peſti-

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lent coinage, and I ſhall be ready, not only to *renounce* every ſyllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully, with my own *hands*, into *thoſe* of the common *hangman*, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath eſcaped out of the *ſecular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the ſentiments of *ſome people* may be, I think it is agreed, that many of thoſe, who *ſubſcribed* againſt me, are on the ſide of a vaſt majority in the kingdom, who oppoſed Mr. Wood:* and it was with great ſatisfaction, that I obſerved ſome *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *ſtrong declaration* againſt him and his coin. But, if the admiſſion of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* perſon who is to *betray* me, ought, in prudence, to do it with all convenient ſpeed; or elſe it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *Sterling* for the diſcharge of his *hire*, when the public ſhall have loſt five hundred thouſand, if there be ſo much in the nation; beſides four-fifths of its annual income for ever.

* As the Drapier's letters were written expreſly againſt Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined, that a proclamation againſt the author, would produce an opinion, that, to oppoſe Wood's halfpence, was illegal, and ſubjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent ſo fatal a miſtake, it is here remarked, that many of thoſe, who ſubſcribed the proclamation, were yet ſtrenuous oppoſers of Wood's project. This diſtinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written ſoon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though, for ſome reaſons, deferred.——See the letter to Lord Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkeſ.*

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I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man, it is of much weight, which of them gave the firſt provocation, or ſtruck the firſt blow. It is manifeſt, that Mr. Wood hath done both: and therefore, I ſhould humbly propoſe to have him firſt *hanged*, and his *droſs* thrown into the ſea: after which, the *drapier* will be ready to ſtand his trial. *It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr. Wood had held his *hand*, every body elſe would have held their *tongues:* and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occaſion. The provocation muſt needs have been very great, which could ſtir up an obſcure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almoſt think, the very *ſtones* in the ſtreet would *riſe* up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure they will not *do ſo* againſt Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, whoſe tongue forced a paſſage for ſpeech, by the horror of ſeeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen the wonder, that a tradeſman, hid in privacy and ſilence, ſhould *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a wretch.

But, in the meantime, Mr. Wood, the *deſtroyer* of a kingdom, walks about in triumph, (unleſs it be true, that he is in jail for debt); while he, who endeavoured to *aſſert the liberty of his country*, is forced to *hide his head* for occaſionally dealing in a matter of *controverſy*. However, I am not the

firſt,

first, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean.* * He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *circumstantial lapse* would probably bring me within the reach of *power;* that my good intentions would be no security against *those, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul.* He produced an instance of a person, as innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as myself; who had written † a very seasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which, however, the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence; the *jury sent back nine times;* and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further observed, that I was in a manner left alone to stand the *battle;* while others, who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier,* were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them *diver-*

* The author is supposed to mean himself.

† The author means himself again; in the discourse advising the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

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ſion, at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a ſufficient recompence, by a little applauſe: whereupon he concluded with a ſhort ſtory of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of ſchool-boys following him to the ſtake, and apprehending they might loſe their *ſport* if he ſhould happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyſe* (Moſes *continue ſtedfaſt*.)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his obſervations juſt; and, in one reſpect, my condition is worſe than that of the Jew: for *no recantation will ſave me*. However, it ſhould ſeem by *ſome late proceedings*, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained, That, as philoſophers ſay, *virtue is ſeated in the middle*; ſo, in another ſenſe, the little *virtue* left in the world, is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, *ſeaſonable advice*, and appears to have been

been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of commons in England againſt *diſſolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordſhip will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and, for that reaſon, *it is manifeſt*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himſelf* or his *dependents*, to uſe the *leaſt inſinuation*, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle *juryman*, much leſs of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *muſt* be *convinced*, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo that it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *ſixty years paſt*; which, conſidering how long they held their offices *during pleaſure*, as they *ſtill do among us*, * I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp cenſure from an Engliſh houſe of commons, againſt *diſſolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters

* Perhaps this may account for Whitſhed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *propoſal for the ſole uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*, and ſuperadded to the *ſeaſonable advice to the grand-jury*, both in vol. III.

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matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For, whatever *dependence* there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief justice* in Ireland, must *depend* upon a *resolution* of an English house of commons. Besides, that *resolution*, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief justice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For Scroggs *dissolved the grand-jury* of London, for fear they *should* present; but ours in Dublin was *dissolved*, because they would *not* present; which *wonderfully alters the case*. And therefore, a *second grand-jury* supplied that defect, by making a presentment * that *pleased the whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other *jury* behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for *virtue or public spirit*.

I am confident, your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short, plain, authentic tract, might be published for the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and

* See *the presentment* at the end of vol. III.

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and that a printed copy of ſuch a treatiſe might be depoſited in every court, to be conſulted by the jurymen, before they conſider of their verdict; by which, abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable inſtances might be produced from former times; becauſe I will ſay nothing of the preſent.

I have read ſomewhere of an *eaſtern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous ſentence; and ordered his *hide to be ſtuffed into a cuſhion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the ſon to ſit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, ſuch a *memorial* might not have been unuſeful to a ſon of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his ſucceſſors would often *wriggle* in their ſeats, as long as the *cuſhion* laſted: I wiſh the relator had told us what number of ſuch *cuſhions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but obſerve to your lordſhip, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private perſon to inform the people, even in an affair, where the public intereſt and ſafety are ſo highly concerned, as that of Mr. Wood; and this in a country, where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, ſeems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the firſt, who introduced that *commendable acuteneſs into the courts of judicature;* but, how far this practice hath been imitated by his ſucceſſors, or *ſtrained upon occaſion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, *unpleaſing to the miniſtry*, were preſented as libels, he would order the offenſive paragraphs to be read before him;

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him; and ſaid, it was ſtrange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's bench* ſhould be duller than all the people of England: and he was often ſo very happy, in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that claſs for eſcaping the law) that he diſcovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be followed, in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution, to avoid being *entrapped;* unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma;* either to let my *learned works* hang for ever drying upon his lines; or venture to publiſh them, at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordſhip where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuſe this coin of Mr. Wood; but, at the ſame time, it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely poſſible*, that the miniſters in England may not ſuppoſe the conſequence of uttering that braſs among us, to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; becauſe, perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would, in common humanity, uſe their credit with his Majeſty, for ſaving *a moſt loyal king-*

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dom from destruction. But, as long as it shall please those great persons to think, that coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we ly under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate, in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore, nothing remains, but to make use of that *liberty*, which the *king* and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and, by frequent remembrances, to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and, perhaps, in time, to sink altogether. For, any public order, against receiving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence, is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom, without directions from England; which, I think, no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But, to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *songs* and *ballads*, who, perhaps, are the best qualified at present, to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to myself, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it, upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falshoods of this vile impostor Wood, in every part, I foolishly *disdained* to have recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy;* but rather chose to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without considering the *climate* I was in.

Since your last residence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where

where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradeſman, did not qualify me to wait on you at your houſe; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have eſcaped *ſeverer cenſures.* But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſtly told his greateſt fault, which was that of ſnuffing up the air about Brackdenſtown; whereby he became ſuch a lover of *liberty*, that I could ſcarce hold him in. I have likewiſe buried, at the bottom of a ſtrong cheſt, your lordſhip's writings, under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty:* and ſpread over a *layer* or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that ſtamp, to be readieſt at hand, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to take up a *new ſet* of principles in government. In the mean time, I deſign quietly to look to my ſhop, and keep as far out of your lordſhip's influence as poſſible: and, if you ever ſee any more of my writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſhall find them as innocent, as inſipid, and without a ſting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordſhip will pleaſe to give me an eaſy leaſe of ſome part of your eſtate in Yorkſhire, thither will I carry my cheſt; and, turning it upſide down, reſume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honeſt Engliſh farmer: but not without regret, for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. Wood: my moſt loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe ſo much

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for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to ſerve them. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient

From my ſhop in St. Francis-ſtreet, Dec. 14. 1724.

and moſt humble ſervant,

M. B.

Theſe papers (for the ſixth and ſeventh letters *were not publiſhed till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, proſecutions, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power, and all the artifices of cunning: perſons of every rank, and every ſect, united with the drapier in the common cauſe; his health was a perpetual toaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet:* Wood *was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally ſuppreſſed.*

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A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date, Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis, perhaps, the dean did not chooſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon, the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the dean's works publiſhed at Dublin, in 1735. This, however, is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the *laſt*, which could not have happened, if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt Harding appears to be depending, though, in the fifth, it is mentioned as paſt.]

My LORD,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe, when the matter hath been almoſt exhauſted, by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember, ſome months ago, I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither, not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to aſk you ſome queſtions

* He ſigned the proclamation againſt the Drapier. *Hawkeſ.*

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questions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin half-pence for Ireland; where you very freely told me, in a mixed company, how much you had been always against that wicked project *; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went, in a few days, to make you a visit, after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from London (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread, of his engaging himself to Mr. Walpole, for 40,000 l. of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless: and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And, although it be long since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those, who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom, scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament, by the privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, by so many corporations, and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties, at their

* Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by several passages in this letter. *Hawkes.*

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quarter-ſeſſions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude, from hence, that the currency of theſe halfpence would, in the univerſal opinion of our people, be utterly deſtructive to this kingdom; and, conſequently, that it is every man's duty, not only to refuſe this coin himſelf, but, as far as in him lies, to perſuade others to do the like: and, whether this be done in private or in print, is all a caſe; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to diſcourſe upon religious or moral ſubjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at leaſt in our church.) Neither is this an affair of ſtate, until authority ſhall think fit to declare it ſo: or if you ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore, I do think it my duty, ſince the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt, from old experience, that there are times, wherein a man ought to be cautious, as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that, preſerving both theſe characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them, to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin, by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his majeſty.

I believe, you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and, ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common

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common acceptation of that word, applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did, many years ago, in discourse, differ much, in the presence of lord Wharton, about the meaning of that word *liberty*, with relation to Ireland. But, if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my lord chief justice Whitshed would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both *.

Now, as for our loyalty to his present Majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident, he hath not a minister in England, who could ever call it once in question. But, that some hard rumours, at least, have been transmitted, from t'other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt: and rumours of the severest kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emissaries: as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be loyal people; so, you will think it pardonable in us, to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a king, that loyal and free people can

* See the *address to both houses of parliament*, by M. B. *drapier*.

expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our wishes; although there were no such mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council, to charge him with * "paragraphs, highly reflecting upon his majesty "and his ministers; tending to alienate the af-"fections of his good subjects in England and "Ireland from each other; and to promote sedi-"tion among the people." I must confess, that, with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *drapier* is but one man, I shall think I do a public service, by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning, out of *his* pamphlets, to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the king, on the subject of Mr. Wood's coin: for, in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at, were, the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Walpole: the former, as I have heard you, and a hundred others affirm,

* In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

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affirm, declared, that he never ſaw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood, before it was paſſed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and, therefore, I ſuppoſe every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever ſince.

Mr. Walpole was indeed ſuppoſed to be underſtood by the letter W. in ſeveral news-papers; where it is ſaid, that ſome expreſſions fell from him, not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which, the kingdom is not to anſwer, any more than for the diſcretion of the publiſhers. You obſerve, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge, by very ſtrong arguments; and ſpeaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myſelf to have been often preſent, where the company gave their opinion, that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and, for my own part, never once opened my lips againſt that miniſter, either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reaſon for this reſervedneſs was, becauſe it pleaſed him, in the *queen's* time, (I mean queen Anne, of ever bleſſed memory) to make a ſpeech directly againſt me, by name, in the houſe of commons, as I was told, a very few minutes after, in the court of *requeſts*, by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great ſtation here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is underſtood by publie voice to be chief miniſter, will, among the general talkers, ſhare the blame, whether juſtly or no, of every thing that is diſliked; which I could ea-

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ſily make appear, in many inſtances, from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the caſe of the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt miniſter I ever converſed with.

But, whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome people might conceive of Mr. Walpole, on account of thoſe halfpence, I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. Wood. Many perſons of credit, come from England, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have ſeen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and inſolence towards Ireland, and boaſting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for his intereſt, to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the known talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus, I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of Ireland, from learning any bad leſſon out of the *drapier*'s pamphlets, with regard to his majeſty and his miniſters: and, therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſedition among us, God be thanked, the ſeeds have fallen upon a very improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myſelf to be

* *Suppoſed to be the Lord Treaſurer* Oxford.

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be as well informed as moſt men, in the diſpoſitions of each people towards the other. By the people, I underſtand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I deſire no lawyer may diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the eaſineſs of their rents, makes them rich and ſturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country ſubject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Iriſh *papiſts*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England, if this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be a rebellion in Ireland. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſitions paſs upon them; that the *wild* Iriſh were taken in toils; but that, in ſome time, they would grow ſo tame, as to eat out of our hands. I have been aſked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours, your tenants at Pepper-hara, whether I had come from Ireland by ſea? and, upon the arrival of an Iriſh *man* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look ſo much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in Dublin, affirms, that, paſſing, ſome months ago, through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon aſking the cauſe, he was told, it was for joy that the Iriſh had ſubmitted

mitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own caſe: although they ly directly in our way to London, and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced, that we have human ſhapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of Iriſh *papiſts*, who are as inconſiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of Engliſh *proteſtants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs, I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below; from whence it muſt follow, that the people of Ireland do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute

law;

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law; ſuch as, to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own conſent as repreſented in parliament, and the like. If this be ſo, and if it be univerſally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and ſilver; I do not ſee why any man ſhould be hindered from cautioning his countrymen againſt this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring, by fraud, to rob us of that property, which the laws have ſecured. If I am miſtaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier*'s caſe in another light, by ſuppoſing, that a perſon going into his ſhop ſhould agree for thirty ſhillings worth of goods, and force the ſeller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces, intrinſically not worth above a crown: I deſire to know, whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give me leave to do, what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it ſtands in view of the world.

One William Wood, Eſq; and hardware-man, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 l. in copper, to paſs in Ireland, leaving us at liberty to take or to refuſe. The people here, in all ſorts of bodies and repreſentatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to juſtify theſe declarations, they generally

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rally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are at left to their own choice; and secondly, because they are not obliged by law: so that you see there is *bellum atque virum;* a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory at the expence of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no, not so much as one single half-penny: for if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say, can either offend my † lord lieutenant, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness) or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the privy-council here; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire I may

† Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

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I may not be accuſed for a ſpreader of falſe news; but I confeſs, I am ſo great a ſtranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may ſince have been changed: and although I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names in a late declaration againſt that coin, which I ſaw ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, yet poſſibly they may be different perſons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on each ſide are divided by St. George's channel, his majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr. Wood and his advocates had not made it neceſſary, by giving out, that the currency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this coin; but the fear of a proclamation, brought along with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty; and accordingly, in one of his former pamphlets, he produced invincible arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided againſt any coin to be impoſed on the ſubject, except gold and ſilver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier*, having not received any public cenſure, I look upon

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them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal: but being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe who profeſs good deſigns, without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter †, is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the Iriſh ſtatute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would tranſgreſs a ſtatute; and a ſtatute of ſuch importance: but, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a very innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime: for, in this, I confeſs myſelf to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections

† Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

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jections against that pamphlet; but I suppose, they will all appear at the prosecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever, in his own conscience, believes the said pamphlet to be wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers, *&c.* would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300 l. had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments, not only of judges, but of lawyers, upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore, it hath been the wisdom of the English parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr. Wood and his coin; since the two houses gave their opinion by addresses, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all question both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particu-

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lar perſons, to whom God hath given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors, contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters; becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer, ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt, ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever. I know it is often debated in Weſtminſter-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books?

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends, to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not ſterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixed metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phraſe

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phrase of a depending kingdom, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency consisteth?

Lastly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at least ought to differ, from those of England?

If these particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom; and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My lord Sommers, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of parliament, should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the public often suffered great inconveniencies, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person, to justify my desires, that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment, how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime, a printer prosecuted

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and convicted for publishing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection, upon the subject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would ensure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late chief-justice Holt affirm, that, in all criminal cases, the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised, by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember, at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client, by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave, in the old and true signification, imported only a servant; and villain, in Latin, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a baily.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer, with a very small measure of discretion, might easily be safe;

* Supposed to be, A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, written by the author.

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ſafe; but I doubt, in practice, it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of Signor Leti, an Italian; who, being in London, buſying himſelf with writing the hiſtory of England, told King Charles II. that he endeavoured, as much as he could, to avoid giving offence; but found it a thing impoſſible, although he ſhould have been as wiſe as Solomon. The king anſwered, that if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs, as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public neceſſity of writing, neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors, hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet, when the addreſſes from both houſes of parliament, againſt Mr. Wood's half-pence, failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed, to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin; to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner; and to lay open the moſt ruinous

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consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin; I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frighted, and greedy to swallow misinformations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but, as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the *drapier*, doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. Wood and his coin, but only refers to certain paragraphs in the *drapier*'s last pamphlet *, (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. Wood, or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue, upon any proper

* The 4th letter.

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proper occaſion, as God enables me, to revive and preſerve that ſpirit raiſed in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no, is little to the purpoſe) againſt this horrid deſign of Mr. Wood; at the ſame time, carefully watching every ſtroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public cenſure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief-juſtice Whitſhed as a criminal. Whenever an order ſhall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the higheſt penalties, to offer any thing in writing, or diſcourſe, againſt Mr. Wood's halfpence, I ſhall certainly ſubmit. However, if that ſhould happen, I am determined to be ſomewhat more than the laſt man in the kingdom to receive them; becauſe I will never receive them at all: for, although I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and the public ſafety.

I deſire to put a caſe, which I think the *drapier*, in ſome of his books, hath put before me; although not ſo fully as it requires.

You know, the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now, ſuppoſe that, inſtead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſome private, obſcure perſon, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this; and all of it, at leaſt, five times below the intrinſic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under

500,000

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500,000 pounds *: by this computation, as Mr. Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; so the patentee in England, by the same proportion, might circulate 4,320,000 pounds, besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion; what success they probably would have had; and how many *drapiers* would have risen, to pester the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours, in the like case; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious, thrifty men, until better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner, in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of subordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase; because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent; and where I should never be in danger of receiving my

* It is since sunk to 200,000 l.

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my rents in mixt copper, at the loſs of ſixteen ſhillings in the pound. You can live in eaſe and plenty at Pepper-hara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-ſpirited in you, to be of the kingdom's ſide in this diſpute, by ſhewing, without reſerve, your diſapprobation of Mr. Wood's deſign; at leaſt, if you have been ſo frank to others, as you are to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, conſidering how much we differ in other points; and, therefore, I could get but few believers, when I attempted to juſtify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier*'s obſervation. If theſe halfpence ſhould once gain admittance, it is agreed, that, in no long ſpace of time, what by the clandeſtine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and thoſe of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or ſilver viſible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from England, to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance) could ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinſically be worth near two hundred. To argue that theſe halfpence, if no other coin were current, would anſwer the general ends of commerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake; and the

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the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an anſwer, by ſhewing us, what every owner of land muſt be forced to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You may read his remarks at large, in his ſecond or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that, for ſeveral months paſt, there have more papers been written in this town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time: I ſpeak in general, from the *drapier* down to the maker of ballads; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are, profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am aſſured, by perſons of credit, that the beſt ballad upon Mr. Wood, will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares, he never made the *drapier* any preſent, except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court, by oppoſing Mr. Wood, is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject, and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future, is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's

* The printer of the drapier's letters.

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Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier*'s reasons. For, a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my lord chief-justice Whitshed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver, for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended, that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written, will appear low and insipid; but, if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us, for opposing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who, after many alterations, returned them back, with assuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the bell-man of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, Past twelve o'clock; Beware of Wood's halfpence; it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets, provided that, in country towns, it were done upon market-days. For my own

 part,

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part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined, that it is not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority ſhall think fit to forbid all writings, or diſcourſes upon this ſubject, except ſuch as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of burſting, I will go and whiſper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wiſdom of my countrymen; but only theſe few words, *BEWARE OF* WOOD'*S HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

Deanry-houſe,
Oct. 26. 1724.

J. S.

AN

An HUMBLE ADDRESS to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT.*

By M. B. Drapier.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi Victoris.——

I Have been told, that petitions and addreſſes, to either king or parliament, are the right of every ſubject; provided they conſiſt with that reſpect, which is due to princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modeſt propoſals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the ſtyle of advice; which is a preſumption far from my thoughts. However, if propoſals ſhould be looked upon as too aſſuming; yet, I hope, every man may be ſuffered to declare his own and the nation's wiſhes. For inſtance; I may be allowed to wiſh, that ſome further laws were enacted for the advancement of trade; for the improvement of agriculture, now ſtrangely neglected, againſt the

* This addreſs is without a date; but it appears to have been written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inſerted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Iriſh edition, two dates are aſſigned to the following tract: in the advertiſement prefixed, it is ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of Carteret's government; and in the title-page, to be written before his arrival. *Hawkeſ.*

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maxims of all wise nations; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would begin by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hard-ware man; who illegally and clandestinely, as appears by our own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining half-pence in that kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the wish of the whole nation, very few excepted; and, upon account of those few, is more strongly and justly the wish of the rest: those few consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS, of weak judgement and strong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such men proceed upon a system of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen nundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800 l. a year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot; such, for instance, as this of Wood; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth

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of the kingdom one half, (although I am confident, it would have done ſo five-ſixths.) Suppoſe, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately ſupporting this project, will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preſerved, or higher exalted; nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. I ſuppoſe that I ſhall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500 l. a year, amounts in ten years to 15,000 l. My eſtate, by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project, ſinks 400 l. a year; which, at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 l.; ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 l. upon the balance. And during all that period, I am poſſeſſed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And, if the project miſcarry, my private merit is ſtill entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practiſed, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or ſafety of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a ſenate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters among mankind. And yet the wiſe lord Bacon mentions a ſort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the revolution, muſt acknowledge, that the higheſt

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points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons, upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these artists were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience, latitude enough for vice, if a man in station be allowed to act injustice upon the usual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferment, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of particular persons. But, to deliver up our whole country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to certain destruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable casuists on the side of corruption. It were far better, that all, who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatsoever above the degree of a constable, (according to the scheme and intention of a great minister † gone to his own place) than to live under the daily apprehensions of a few false brethren among ourselves. Because, in the former case, we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; since none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new halfpence, I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shop-keeper to have been hitherto

† The late Earl of Sunderland.

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therto ſo bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project, although I have been told of ſome very mollifying expreſſions which were uſed, and very gentle expedients propoſed and handed about, when it firſt came under debate: but ſince the eyes of the people have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant can plainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of Wood's attempt, theſe grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly appeared (among other inſtances of great compliance) from certain circumſtances, that have attended ſome late proceedings * in a court of judicature. There is not any common-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe who treat of our conſtitution, than the great happineſs and excellency of trials by juries: yet if this bleſſed part of our law be eludable at pleaſure, by the force of power, frowns and artifice, we ſhall have little reaſon to boaſt of our advantage in this particular, over other ſtates or kingdoms in Europe. And ſurely theſe high proceedings, exerciſed in a point that ſo nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; becauſe it was obvious, that ſo much ſuperabundant zeal could have no other deſign, or produce any other effect, than to damp that ſpirit raiſed in the nation

* By Chief-Juſtice Whitſhed, whoſe method with a jury may be ſeen in the note which follows the propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh manufactures, and that at the end of ſeaſonable advice to a grand-jury. *Hawkeſ.*

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nation againſt this accurſed ſcheme of William Wood and his abettors; to which ſpirit alone we owe, and for ever muſt owe, our being hitherto preſerved, and our hopes of being preſerved for the future, if it can be kept up, and ſtrongly countenanced by your wiſe aſſemblies. I wiſh I could account for ſuch a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our intereſt in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember, ſome months ago, when this affair was freſh in diſcourſe, a perſon nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to ſhew the bad conſequences that might follow from any public reſentment to the diſadvantage of his ally, Mr. Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being diſpoſed of from England. One of theſe emiſſaries came to me, and urged the ſame topic. I anſwered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his aſking; and that I looked upon all who had the diſadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leaſers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the country man, who intreated his aſs to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the aſs refuſed to give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a worſe: the enemy could not make him fare harder,

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harder, beat him more cruelly, or load him with heavier burdens.

Upon these, and many more considerations, I may affirm it to be the wish of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be stigmatized by public censure; not from any hope that such a censure will amend their practices, or hurt their interest, (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both) but that the nation may know their enemies from their freinds.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall merit at my expence, further than by shewing their zeal to discover, prosecute and condemn me, for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country: and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to reflect on his majesty's ministers, nor on any other person, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, some would have it, that I went too far; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have gone further; and I think I could not easily have fared worse. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the sins of the people. And as to the poor printer,

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he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies, the general wishes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wish, that your first proceeding would be, to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood; so I must add, as the universal opinion, that all schemes of commutation, composition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public; against the dignity of a free kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a connivance to admit one thousand pounds in these halfpence, will produce in time the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consent to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are upon all occasions, and in all diseases, so ready to administer.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have observed, that grievances have always preceded supplies; and

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and if ever grievances had a title to ſuch a pre-eminence, it muſt be this of Wood; becauſe it is not only the greateſt grievance that any country could ſuffer, but a grievance of ſuch a kind, that, if it ſhould take effect, would make it impoſſible for us to give any ſupplies at all, except adulterate copper; unleſs a tax were laid for paying the civil and military liſts, and the large penſions, with real commodities inſtead of money; which, however, might be liable to ſome few objections, as well as difficulties: for although the common ſoldiers might be content with beef and mutton, and wool, and malt and leather; yet I am in ſome doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous penſioners, the civil officers and others, who all live in England upon Iriſh pay, as well as thoſe few who reſide among us, only becauſe they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which, although I have mentioned more than once in ſome of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; becauſe I do not remember to have read or heard of the like, in the hiſtory of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it, without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

After the unanimous addreſſes to his ſacred majeſty, againſt this patent of Wood, from both houſes of parliament, which are the three eſtates of the kingdom; and likewiſe an addreſs from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole adminiſtration is entruſted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in

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in London. Wood, and his adherents, are heard on one ſide; and a few volunteers, without any truſt or direction from hence, on the other. The queſtion (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland. Witneſſes are called on the behalf of Wood, of what credit, I have formerly ſhewn.* Upon the iſſue, the patent is found good and legal: all his majeſty's officers here, not excepting the military, commanded to be aiding and aſſiſting to make it effectual; the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of moſt counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aſide, as of no weight, conſequence, or conſideration whatſoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonſuited, in default of appearance; as if it were a private cauſe between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great reſpect to thoſe honourable perſons, the committee of council in London, I have not underſtood them to be our governors, counſellors or judges. Neither did our caſe turn at all upon the queſtion, Whether Ireland wanted halfpence? For, there is no doubt, but we do want both halfpence, gold, and ſilver; and we have numberleſs other wants, and ſome that we are not ſo much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is ſubject, whom God hath bleſſed with religion and laws, or any degree of ſoil and ſun-ſhine: but

* In Letter III.

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but, for what demerits on our ſide, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember that our want of halfpence was either affirmed, or denied in any of our addreſſes or declarations againſt thoſe of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baſeneſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, which might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home; whereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſilver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and diſcouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſed without the leaſt reference hither; and without mention of any ſecurity given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe, and many other arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on; and at this day, our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal deteſtation of theſe halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not under obligations to do ſo by any law either human or divine.

But, in the name of God and of all juſtice and piety, when the king's majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould paſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he conceived, believed and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his ſubjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful

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kingdom; of the moſt loyal kingdom upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up againſt him; a kingdom, where the paſſage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where papiſts have leſs power, and leſs land than in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his majeſty's miniſters underſtood and propoſed the ſame end, the good of this nation, when they adviſed the paſſing this patent? Can the perſon of Wood be otherwiſe regarded, than as the inſtrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his ſtamps? If I employ a ſhoe-boy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the perſon of William Wood alone; becauſe no other appears, and we are not to reaſon upon ſurmiſes; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, for we cannot do leſs, that this patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a wiſe public-ſpirited miniſtry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet, when the whole kingdom to a man, for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do, upon matureſt conſideration, univerſally join in openly declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning againſt theſe half-pence, as the moſt ruinous project that ever was ſet on foot to complete the ſlavery and deſtruction of a poor innocent country; is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a queſtion, not whether ſuch a kingdom, or William Wood, ſhould be a gainer; but whether ſuch a kingdom

ſhould

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ſhould be wholly undone, deſtroyed, ſunk, depopulated, made a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, for the ſake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our univerſal wiſh, that God would put it into your hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For my own part, who am but one man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare in the preſence of almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death, rather than ſubmit to receive this accurſed coin, or any other that ſhall be liable to the ſame objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions? ſhall another proclamation iſſue againſt me, becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt William Wood, where her final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe ſilence upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo long at mercy under ſo vile an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable aggravation, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rage are too low to ſet it forth: and therefore I ſhall leave it to receive ſuch a reſentment, as is worthy of a parliament.

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It is likewise our universal wish, that his majesty should grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament here shall advise; since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practised by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet surely Scotland, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for bishop Burnet says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain) and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the side, is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a spike at a distance.

The histories of England, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of coin, by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon occasions, to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tenderest point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unsettled, no man can well be said to have any property at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England; not only upon

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upon the ſcore of chiſtianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immenſe profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe, from what it doth at preſent.

The rents of land in Ireland, ſince they have been of late ſo enormouſly raiſed and ſcrewed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at leaſt is directly tranſmitted to thoſe, who are perpetual abſentees in England, as I find by a computation made with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſkilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether loſers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almoſt as much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the conſideration of thoſe who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occaſional abſentees, for buſineſs, health, or diverſion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his abſence; which is uſually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the poſt-office.

The numerous penſions paid to perſons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army abſent in England, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always abſent.

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Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two univerſities.

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral years paſt for corn ſent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wiſdom in diſcouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian ſtuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beſides the profit to England, * is an inconceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our ſtreets, or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to England, by ſelling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime coſt: a proceeding without example in the chriſtian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in Engliſh manufactures, to our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England;

* From whence theſe commodities were exported to Ireland, the Eaſt-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured. *Hawkeſ.*

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England; an effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kinds of goods made in England. *

Theſe and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to England. And upon the whole, let any man look into thoſe authors who write upon the ſubject of commerce, he ſhall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſentials or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be a loſer, which we do not poſſeſs in the higheſt perfection; ſomewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he ſtands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this ſubject of perpetual abſentees, I have ſpent ſome time in very inſignificant reflections; and, conſidering the uſual motives of human actions, which are pleaſure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend, how thoſe perſons find their account in any of the three. I ſpeak not of thoſe Engliſh peers or gentlemen, who, beſide their eſtates at home, have poſſeſſions here; for, in that caſe, the matter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords, and wealthy knights, or ſquires, whoſe birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune, except ſome trifle, and that in

* Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred. *Hawkeſ.*

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in a very few inſtances, are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during ſeveral years, when I reſided in England; and truly, I could not diſcover, that the figure they made, was, by any means, a ſubject for envy, at leaſt it gave me two very different paſſions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or ſometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hyde-Park, or loſing their money at the chocolate-houſe, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I ſay, beſides theſe, and a few other privileges of leſs importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I uſed to wonder how a man of birth and ſpirit could endure to be wholly inſignificant and obſcure in a foreign country, when he might live with luſtre in his own; and even at leſs than half that expence, which he ſtrains himſelf to make, without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for ſize with the ox. I have been told by ſcholars, that Cæſar ſaid, he would rather be the firſt man in I know not what village, than the ſecond in Rome. This, perhaps, was a thought only fit for Cæſar: but, to be preceded by thouſands, and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or diſtinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable ſituation of life to a perſon of title or wealth, who can ſo cheaply and eaſily ſhine in his native country.

But,

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But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations; the cutting down all the woods, to supply expences in England; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons, hath been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few, perhaps, have been aware of. For, if that very considerable number of lords, who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house, would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied: and we might have then decided our own properties among ourselves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of servitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine our controversies; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irksome to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber, and courts of requests, must have observed, that they are never so no-

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bly filled, as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numeous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that *bleak and barren climate;* and although some of them made frequent journies to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made England their constant habitation before the *union;* or, if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own advantage;* and, whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and, by that means, enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *absentees* under the degree of *peers;* what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to touch. But, whether those who live in another kingdom, upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it:* I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant seats*, who have no interest here, except a precarious employment, and consequently, can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, *if it be a question at all.*

But, besides the prodigious profit which England receives, by the transmittal thither of two-

thirds

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thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another advantage, by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *disburden* themselves of their *supernumerary* pretenders to office; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself; *POOR* Ireland *maketh many rich.*

If, amidst all our difficulties, I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what *possible* advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the *regular seeds* of *party* and *faction* among us, are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with, upon the score of our *birth-place* and *climate.*

The *parties* in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the pretender*; and those who were *zealous oppofers of him.* Secondly, Of those who were *for* and *against a toleration of* dissenters *by law.* Thirdly, Of *high* and *low-church*; or (to speak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig* and *tory.* And, fourthly, Of *court* and *country.* If there be any more, they are

are beyond my obſervation or politics: for, as to *ſubaltern* or *occaſional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the ſame originals.

Now, it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *diviſion*, are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *pretender*, his cauſe is both *deſperate* and *obſolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's intereſt; and in all others, the obligation of conſcience hath no place*: even the *papiſts*, in general, of any ſubſtance or eſtates, and their *prieſts*, almoſt univerſally, are what we call *whigs*, in the ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. They feel the *ſmart*, and ſee the *ſcars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they muſt be made a *ſacrifice* to the leaſt attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *ſuperſtition* reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

Secondly, The *diſſenters* are now *tolerated by law*: neither do we obſerve any *murmurs* at preſent from that quarter, except thoſe *reaſonable* complaints they make of *perſecution*, becauſe they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very ſmall in either *houſe* of parliament, they are not *yet* in a ſituation to erect a *party*: becauſe, however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wiſe enough to know, that if ſuch a *latitude* were allowed

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegiance. *Hawkeſ.*

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lowed to *dissenters*, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, The dispute between *high* and *low-church*, is now at an end; two-thirds of the *bishops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed *all* preferments in their gift to those they could well *confide in*: the *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess *such a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* subject.

Lastly, As to *court* and *country parties*, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments; this kingdom hath not, for several years past, been a proper scene, whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *distant* hands, and the *reversions diligently watched and secured*: the temporary ones of any *inviting* value, are all bestowed *elsewhere*, as fast as they drop; and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a *court* and *country party*, without *materials*, would be a very new system in politics, and what, I believe, was never thought on before; nor, unless in *a nation of idiots*, can ever succeed; for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not *sell his cow for a groat*.

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Therefore, I conclude, that all *party* and *faction*, with regard to public proceedings, are now extinguiſhed in this kingdom:* neither doth it appear in view, how they can poſſibly *revive*; unleſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered; which cannot be done, *without croſſing the intereſts of thoſe who are the greateſt gainers by continuing the ſame meaſures*. And general calamities, *without hope of redreſs*, are allowed to be the great *uniters* of mankind.

However we may diſlike the *cauſes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an univerſal concord among us, in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities*, *corporations*, and *country neighbourhoods*, may keep us at leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace* and *amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, deſiring to know the *ſubject of the quarrel*; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our caſe; I hope the *latter* will be ſo too, that we ſhall *ſit down* amicably together, at leaſt until we have *ſomething* that may give us a title to fall out, ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood of *goſlings* to *ſtick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wiſhes the ſame thing, with relation

* Since this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared, by experience, that the author was much miſtaken in his conjectures.

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lation to the public, may, in several points of the greatest importance, in some measure, supply the *defect of power*, and even *of those rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind.* If the universal *wish* of the nation, upon any point, were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of lords, I should think myself obliged, in conscience, to act in my sphere according to that vote; because, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of those who have the property in land;* which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such *votes* or *declarations* have not received such a confirmation, for certain *accidental reasons;* yet, I think they ought to be of much weight with the *subject*, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare, that, whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation;* I should think it a heinous sin in myself, to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same *censure* against those who wore Indian stuffs and *calicoes*, or *woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb

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of misery, I should *readily*, *heartily*, and *chearfully* pay obedience; and, to my utmost power, persuade others to do the like; because there is no *law* of this land, obliging us either to *receive such coin*, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this last article I could humbly wish, that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an example, by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the *laity*, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. † And in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporation of *weavers* in silk and woollen, would publish some *proposals* (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening.

* This hath since been put in practice by the persuasions and influence of the supposed author; but much defeated by the most infamous fraud of shopkeepers. *Hawkes.*

† This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers by the supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice. *Hawkes.*

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cheapening. So that if I ſent a child for a piece of ſtuff of a particular colour and fineneſs, I ſhould be ſure not to be deceived; or if I had reaſon to complain, the corporation ſhould give me immediate ſatisfaction; and the name of the tradeſman, who did me the wrong, ſhould be publiſhed; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unleſs the matter plainly appeared to be a miſtake: for, beſides the trouble of going from ſhop to ſhop, an ignorant cuſtomer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodneſs of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and diſhoneſt man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general diſreputation; and the gentry call for Engliſh cloth, or ſilk, from an opinion they have (and often too juſtly by our own faults) that the *goodneſs* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Beſides, it hath been the ſottiſh and ruinous practice of us tradeſmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raiſe the prices immediately, and manufacture the ſaid goods more ſlightly and fraudulently than before.

Of theſe foul and fooliſh proceedings, too many inſtances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received ſuch a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the ſucceſs of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection,

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a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the *northern* weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain, would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of *traitors* and *enemies* to God and their country; who, for the prospect of a little *present* gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an *example* to the rest, and a *blessing* to the nation) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to those who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from Marseilles, those wretches would have died with less title to *pity* than a *highway-man* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *some time past* all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the style of *some persons*, whose *ancestors* (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves*, have been *flying in princes faces*

faces these fourscore years; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for such a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse * was published, endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face*; the *printer* was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and, I hope *it will somewhere* be *remembered further*, the *jury* kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a *special verdict*; the † *judge* on the bench *invoking God for his witness*, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin, were called by the same persons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* representation of the royal *countenance* in William Wood's adulterate copper, to be his sacred majesty's *face*; or, if it were, my *flying* was not against the *impression*, but the *baseness* of the *metal*; because I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar *commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship*

* The proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.

† Judge Whitshed.

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worſhip it, was not of COPPER but pure GOLD. And I am heartily ſorry, we have ſo few *royal images* of that *metal* among us; the ſight whereof, although it could hardly encreaſe our veneration for his majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *ſatisfaction*.

Alexander the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How muſt he have treated ſuch an operator as Wood, who goes about with *ſack-fulls* of *droſs*, odiouſly miſrepreſenting his prince's *countenance*; and would force them by thouſands upon every one of us at above *ſix times the value*.

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himſelf, together with his *favourers*, *abettors*, *ſupporters*, either *public* or *private*; by thoſe who *connive* at this project, or *diſcourage* and *diſcountenance* his *oppoſers* for fear of leſſening their *favour*, or hazarding their *employments*; by thoſe, who endeavour to *damp* the *ſpirit* of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or check the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their *writings* or *diſcourſes* do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe *ſofteners*, *ſweeteners*, *compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who *ſhake* their *heads* ſo ſtrongly that we can *hear their pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of ſuch *enemies* to the kingdom, I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *repreſenters* of his majeſty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *ſecret* or *open* advocates.

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If I were allowed to recite only those *wishes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, that an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kindom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, was declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty votes* against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing Indian silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation; because we are under a *greater necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, that some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this might

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might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement should be given to *agriculture;* and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in those acts for planting forest trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of skill and industry. The neglect of *copsing* woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in *shipping* or *building*.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting *turf*, without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholsome,

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by ſtagnating pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſhould that odious cuſtom be allowed, of cutting *ſcraws* (as they call them) which is flaying of the green ſurface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; ſometimes in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and ſometimes in low grounds, with a thin green ſward, and ſloughy underneath; which laſt turns all into bog by this miſmanagement. And I have heard from very ſkilful country men, that by thoſe two practices in *turf* and *ſcraws*, the kingdom loſeth ſome hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; beſides the irreparable loſs of many ſkirts of bogs, which have a green coat of graſs, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and beſides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be of great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an eaſy rate, but likewiſe render even the larger bogs more dry and ſafe for ſummer paſture.

Theſe, and ſome other ſpeculations of the like kind, I had intended to publiſh in a particular diſcourſe againſt this ſeſſion of parliament; becauſe, in ſome periods of my life, I had opportunity and curioſity to obſerve, from what cauſes thoſe great errors in every branch of country management have ariſen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof ſome, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all poſſible means to avoid. And, for

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for the ſame reaſon, I choſe to add here the little I thought proper to ſay on this ſubject.

But, as to the lands of thoſe who are *perpetual abſentees*, I do not ſee any probability of their being ever improved. In former times, their tenants ſat at eaſy rents; but for ſome years paſt, they have been, generally ſpeaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of *mercileſs agents* from England, than even thoſe who held under the ſevereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon the place, by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious eſtate in the county of Cork being let upon leaſes for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was ſo high, that the tenants begged leave to ſurrender their *leaſes*, and were content to loſe their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a ſubject worthy of the higheſt enquiry in any country, but eſpecially in ours; where we are ſo ſtrangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of thoſe, which are of the greateſt importance; whereof I defy the moſt learned man in Europe, to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit* which God and *nature* intended to us; as manifeſtly appears by our *happy ſituation for commerce*, and the *great number of our excellent ports*. So that I think, little is left us, beſides the cultivating our own ſoil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the neceſſity of ſending

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ing for *corn* and *bark* from England: and *timber* from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England, That few *politicians*, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth, as an *honest farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual service* to his country; which it is a great controversy, whether any of the *former* ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr. Swift talks of liberty in a strain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reason, justice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole course of his arguments, from the distinguishing characteristics of the most loyal subject; whatever might, to the contrary, have been supposed by a few degenerate slaves and sycophants, in those days; even by that sort of people, who, as the wise Lord Bacon expresses it, would set a house on fire, for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame. *D. Swift.*

However, indeed, such was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the fourth letter, chiefly because he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms, worthy of a brave and resolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his sovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the vicissitudes of this world, his majesty's affairs might possibly take in other parts of his dominions.——I shall only remark upon this doctrine, the

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contrary of which would, I think, have been high treason, and against his oath of allegiance, that how much soever it was condemned in the year 1724, by slaves and flatterers; it was, in 1745, so universally established in the minds of men, that if there had been occasion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the sword in defence of their sovereign, (which, beside their loyalty and affection to his majesty, they have many reasons to thank God for, that there was not,) K. George II. would undoubtedly have been supported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his majesty's affairs in other parts of his dominions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grand-children of those men so renowned for their valorous achievements in the days of K. William III.——As the author of the fourth letter could not be discovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the usual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitshed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country, and to the public interest, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Justice, in a rage, dissolved the jury: on account of which, he deserved to have been impeached by the house of commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury, *&c.* See the *note* affixed to *Resolutions of the Commons of England*, vol. III. *Swift.*

The

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The DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and set out in his own proper Colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS against Mr. WOOD'S HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Esq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the least doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and considered what I shall offer upon the present occasion in my own defence, and against your Drapier; when ye shall make an exact *assay* of the arguments on both sides, between him and me; and, lastly, when ye shall observe, as I shall point it out, the abusive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I say, as I said before, I make not the least doubt, but ye will all, to a man, reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his first letter to the *tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland* (Vol. III. p. 343.) he begins with the wheedling preamble of *brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects.* A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you best; he that is getting you no money at all, or I, who am this present providing more money for you, than you shall know what to do with. O sad! O sad! I am really concerned for

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the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and ſays,

"It is a great fault among you, that when a "perſon writes with no other intention than to "do you good, you will not be at the pains to "read his advices." (p. 344.)

Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like ſo many gudgeons, to ſwallow his falſe arguments; and you ſee he has accompliſhed his end at laſt; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my halfpence theſe five or ſix months paſt.

"Now, you muſt know, that the halfpence "and farthings in England paſs for very little "more than they are worth; and if you ſhould "beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the bra-"zier, you would not loſe much above a penny "in a ſhilling. But Mr. Wood made his half-"pence of ſuch baſe metal, and ſo much ſmaller "than the Engliſh ones, that the brazier would "hardly give you above a penny of good money "for a ſhilling of his." (p. 346.)

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may ſee his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vaſt expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my *patent*; the great expence I ſhall be at in ſhipping them to Ireland; which muſt, in the nature of things, be a vaſt drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore, it cannot be ſuppoſed, I can either put as much, or

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as good copper in the halfpence for Ireland, as those for England. But, good Lord! is not an halfpenny a halfpenny, when once it is called so; and if it passes for an halfpenny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he says, though he sells you a dozen hats at five shillings a piece, which is three pound, is but five shillings in my money; this is perfect *transubstantiation*, to juggle you out of your senses——Three pound is but five shillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

"This same Mr. Wood was able to attend "constantly for his own interest;" (and why should not I?) "he is an Englishman, and had "great friends," (God be thanked for that;) "and it seems, knew very well where to give "money to those that would speak to others, "that could speak to the King, and would tell a "fair story." (I grant that, and what would he infer?) Then he proceeds: "If his Majesty the "King, saw that it would utterly ruin the king-"dom of Ireland, he would shew his displeasure "to some body or other. But a word to the "wise is enough." (We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well spoken what he thought, like an honest man.) He proceeds: "Most of you must have heard, with what anger "our honourable house of commons received an "account of this Wood's patent. There were "several fine speeches made upon it, and plain "proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat, from the "bottom to the top; and several smart votes were

"printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſu-
"rance to anſwer likewiſe in print, and in ſo
"confident a way, as if he were a better man
"than our whole parliament put together."
(p. 347, 348.)

The parliament was angry—made ſpeeches—ſound me to be a wicked cheat—and I anſwered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament.—Well, I find this Drapier will ſay any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier anſwer me only theſe three queſtions: Where did this parliament ſit? And where are the ſpeeches? And where is my anſwer?

"The common ſoldier, when he goes to the
"market or alehouſe, will offer this money,"
(meaning my halfpence;) "and if it be refuſed,
"perhaps he will ſwagger and hector, and
"threaten to beat the butcher or alewife,"
[threaten indeed!] he will do it in earneſt, "or
"take the goods by force, and throw them the
"bad halfpence." [Why ſhould he not? Is it any robbery if he pays them!] "In this and the
"like caſes, the ſhopkeeper, or victualler, or any
"other tradeſman, has no more to do, than to
"demand ten times the price of his goods, if it
"is to be paid in Wood's money; for example,
"*twenty pence for a quart of ale.*" (p. 348.) The devil is in his conſcience, *twenty pence for a quart of ale!* I believe ſuch another propoſal was never ſince Adam. To conſider all other things in proportion, what miſchief would this occaſion?

That

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That is, fifteen ſhillings a bottle for claret, at eighteen pence a bottle; for a flaſk of Burgundy five and forty ſhillings; fifty ſhillings a day for a coach; ten ſhillings a dinner for a twelve penny ordinary; thirty ſhillings a day for a chair; ten pence a freſh egg; five pence a halfpenny roll; two pence halfpenny for a pint of ſmall beer. In ſhort, by his advice, *victuallers*, *vintners*, and *trades-folk* would ſoon get all the money of the kingdom into their own hands, ſhould they all follow the *pot of ale example*. And now to conſider the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier's advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a ſheep's head; the baker ten ſhillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take my advice; *two pence a quart, and my bleſſing*.

In p. 349. he denies that my halfpence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I ſuppoſe, then, he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they muſt be lawful ſomewhere. For, does he think, under the ſcarcity of money we find at preſent, that we can afford to let fourſcore and ten thouſand pound ly dead? I need no other argument to ſhew what a friend he is to the *public*.

"They ſay 'Squire Conolly hath ſixteen thou-
"ſand pounds a year; now, if he ſends for his
"rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt
"have two hundred and fifty horſes to bring up
"his half year's rent." (p. 350).

Suppoſe

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Suppose he must, where is the great hardship? If a man of sixteen thousand a year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horses to draw his money, he deserves to want it. I'll engage his undertenants will lay it down at his door, and it shall not cost him a farthing for the carriage.

"These halfpence, if they once pass, will soon "be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply "done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise "will probably do the same thing, and send them "over to us to pay for our goods." (p. 350, 351.)

The stuff is good stuff, let him say what he will; and the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will stand by it: If I made them of silver, it would be the same thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, sure they counterfeit gold and silver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin: I am certain, they have not coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they should, I shall take care to stock you so well, that you shall have no occasion for theirs; so that they may carry them home again if they please.

"It would be very hard, if all Ireland should "be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow "Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood and his "halfpence should weigh down this whole king-"dom, by which England gets above a million "of good money every year clear into their poc-

"kets;

" kets; and that is more than the Engliſh do by
" all the world beſides." (p. 352.)

Parturiunt montes—But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not underſtand.

" A famous *law book*, called *The mirrour of*
" *juſtice*, diſcourſing of the charters (or laws) or-
" dained by our *ancient kings*, declares the law to
" be as follows: It was ordained, that no *king* of
" this realm ſhould *change*, *impair*, or *amend*, or
" make any *money* than of *gold* or *ſilver*, without
" the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as my
" lord Coke (1 Inſt. 576.) ſays, without the aſ-
" ſent of *parliament*." (p. 354.)

Then he concludes, according to cuſtom, with his fine flattering ſpeeches.

" I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the
" trouble, ſet before you in ſhort what the law
" obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you
" to." (This Drapier is an excellent lawyer: I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor.)

" Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in
" payments, which is coined by the king, and is
" of the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it
" be of gold or ſilver.

" Secondly, you are not obliged to take any
" money which is not of gold or ſilver.——

" Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take
" thoſe vile halfpence of that ſame Wood.——

" Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and
" all: refuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to
" rebel againſt Mr. Wood. His Majeſty, in his
" patent,

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"patent, obliges no body to take these halfpence." (p. 356, 357.)

So then, at this rate, they are coined for no body by some body; and some body is to get nothing by no body. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye see, gentlemen, the force of that argument which the Drapier offers; but I find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of satire upon myself, contained in this first letter. But knowing that the best undertakers have always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort myself that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and though a perfect stranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will shew what industry and pains it has cost me, to make you a flourishing and a happy people. It is my inclination to preserve a good understanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpose. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that *pitiful, malicious, insidious, undermining, scribbling Drapier* set on a parcel of *tatterred, filthy, Irish, butter-milk, potatoe scoundrels*, to carry my effigies about in *Wood*, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green [see the following page] for which I hope, when the parliament sits, to have ample satisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable procession.

I am, your best friend,

W. W.

A full

A full and true account of the ſolemn proceſſion to the GALLOWS, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq; and hard-ware man. *

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report ſpread, that William Wood, hard-ware man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † houſe here in Dublin, a great number of people, of different conditions, and of both ſexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner, and a counterfeiter. Amongſt the reſt, a certain curious perſon, ſtanding in a corner, obſerved, that they all diſcovered their reſentments in the proper terms and expreſſions of their ſeveral trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleaſed to communicate them to me, with leave to publiſh them, for the uſe of thoſe, who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loſs for proper words, wherein to expreſs their good diſpoſitions towards the ſaid William Wood.

The

* In this piece the author makes the ſeveral artificers attend William Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradeſman expreſſes his reſentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the proceſſion, moſt humorouſly deſcribed. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux, an ironmonger.

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The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *house*.
2d parliament-man. I second that *motion*.
Cook. I'll *baste* him.
2d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full*.
3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.
4th Cook. I'll *sowce* him.
Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
School-master. I'll make him an *example*.
Rabbet-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.
2d Miller. *Dam* him.
Boatman. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnio-man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose*.

Curate.

Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him.*

Popiſh prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.

Dancing-maſter. I'll *teach him better manners.*

2d Dancing-maſter. I'll make him cut a *caper* three ſtory high.

Farmer. I'll *traſh him.*

Taylor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts.*

2d Taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.

3d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet.*

4th Taylor. I'll make his a—— make *buttons.*

Baſket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears.*

2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to ſome *tune.*

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard.*

2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiſkers.*

3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* ſtand on end.

4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks.*

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.

Tobacconiſt. I'll make him *ſmoak.*

2d Tobacconiſt. I'll make him ſet up his *pipes.*

Gold-finder. I'll make him *ſtink.*

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver.*

2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.

2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up.*

3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.

Nurſe. I'll *ſwaddle* him.

Anabaptiſt. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond.*

Oſtler. I'll *rub* him *down.*

Shoemaker. Set him in the *ſtocks.*

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Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his sides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.
Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigy; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *blackguards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Esq; represented to the life, by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper distances, several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck, served him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant, as is usual with persons in his condition (which some censorious people imputed to affectation) for he

was

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was covered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's green, he often bowed on both ſides, to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though ſomewhat penſive, was very compoſed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his noſe, and a handkerchief in his left hand, to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himſelf in perſon;* whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of the whole aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſhed by a halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder, as the badge of his office.

Then followed two perſons hand in hand; the one repreſenting William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain *ſaddler*, his intimate friend, whoſe name I forget. Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein was a reaſonable quantity of the new halfpence. At proper periods they ſhook their kettles, which made a melancholy ſound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After theſe followed ſeveral officers, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary, for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The proceſſion was cloſed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently ſent out loud huzzas; which were cenſured by wiſer heads, as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph

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over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself, with great resignation, to the hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked, whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented, that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for, upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city, to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality, according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouse of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the

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the deceaſed. While the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a worthy member of the aſſembly ſtood up, and propoſed, that the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and burned with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning, there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, burning not having been any part of the ſentence, authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the corpſe was reſcued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions many ſpeculations. But what is more wonderful, it is poſitively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms, long before his execution. The ſolution of which difficulty, I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

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Some CONSIDERATIONS on the attempts to pass Mr. WOOD's BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy consideration, to see *the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of* Ireland, *during their late session, the late address of his majesty's justices and privy-council of that kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of* Dublin; whereby the unanimous sense of this nation, and *the great apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in* Ireland, *by virtue of the patent granted to* William Wood, have been represented in the strongest terms: I say, it is a melancholy consideration, to see the force of all these representations, eluded by the petitions of a single person, such as Mr. Wood.

If justice stood on the side of this single person, it ought to give good men pleasure, to see that right should take place; but when, on the contrary, the commonweal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people, distracted with apprehension of the utmost danger to their properties, nay, the preservation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private interest; what good man but must lament such an unhappy state of affairs?

And since the matter was of this importance, and seemed to carry with it the testimony of Heaven,

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ven, in the univerſal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus, with one voice, deprecated the evil, with any ſhew of reaſon take upon them the riſk of any miſcarriage in a trial, in a ſubordinate court?

It was to our gracious ſovereign, that all theſe addreſſes and petitions were preſented; it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cauſe; and it would have been the higheſt piece of arrogance, for any perſon to have preſumed to take upon themſelves a ſhare in that truſt, which was only repoſed in his majeſty's hands. It is no wonder, therefore, *that every one was guarded with caution, againſt giving any advice or opinion in this matter of ſtate*; for which reaſon, they ought *to apprehend great danger to themſelves, from meddling in it.*

Though *this proceeding may ſeem extraordinary*, yet it being on a moſt extraordinary matter, on a matter of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the iſſue of it; on a matter wherein the lords and commons were complainants, and the king immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but alſo as particular and only truſtee, in whom his people repoſed entire confidence to redreſs the grievances complained of; was it not intirely reaſonable and fit, that every particular perſon of this kingdom ſhould *reſt* upon what was done by the whole body of the people, duly aſſembled in parliament, and not arrogantly

aſſume

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assume to themselves, a power of putting the fate of this nation to an issue before twelve men?

Since, then, it plainly appears, that this matter is of such a high nature, that no particular person ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be presumed, that the non-appearance of persons *to support the united sense of both houses of parliament of* Ireland, can never be construed as a general diffidence, of being able *to support the charge brought against the patent and patentee;* though, indeed, it might proceed from *a general* and a very reasonable *apprehension of a miscarriage* in this important affair; *wherein both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced and satisfied, upon evidence and examination taken in the most solemn manner;* that for my part, I (and so I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their resolutions to have the same dignity (in this case) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima est eorum dignitas, et certissima authoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And, therefore, I don't presume to enter the lists, in order to support the resolutions of both houses of parliament; for I look upon it that they are *so sure and uncontrollable, that they ought not to be questioned;* but it shall be the business of this paper, to point out some of the mischiefs which will naturally result from this coinage of Mr. Wood's, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of issuing this money of Mr. Wood's, is limited, *and without any compulsion, and currency inforced, to be received by*

such

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such only, as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same. But then, it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory *on all his majesty's officers and ministers*, to receive the same.

By this means, there is a foundation laid for the most unheard of confusion that ever was introduced into the business of a nation; for here is established a species of money, made of the basest metal, which none in employments under his majesty must refuse in payments to the crown, or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his subjects are at liberty to refuse the same, in payments to be made to them, either by his majesty, or by any other person.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be *highly prejudiced*, by the want of intrinsic value in the coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his majesty, are the persons, who, in the first place, must bear the burthen of this mischief. For if they are the only persons who are *obliged* to receive this coin as current money, it is to be presumed, that no other persons will receive the same, but with considerable allowance for the difference between the *brass money*, and that made of gold and silver.

And, even with a considerable allowance, it will be hard to conceive, how this *brass money* will find any degree of currency in the world, without the assistance of a set of men, who may probably raise great estates in this unsettled course of affairs; but such a set of people ought never

to

to be encouraged by a wise government; for they will make their fortunes by the losses of good subjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet these *hucsterers*, or *money-jobbers*, will be found necessary, if this *brass money* is made current in the Exchequer.

To shew, in some measure, the proportion of this mischief to his majesty's revenue, and to those in immediate offices under him; it must be considered, that the gross revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 l. *per annum;* out of which must be deducted the charge of collection and drawbacks; which, to be sure, the several collectors, and those who are to receive the drawbacks, will take care to receive in *Sterling* money; about 80,000 l. *per annum;* and there will remain, for the discharge of the civil and military lists, pensions, *&c.* 420,000 l. *per annum*, which sum, it is probable, issues out of the treasury by monthly payments of about 35,000 l. *per month;* for otherwise, the current cash in this nation could not possibly pay the revenue, and serve to carry on even the little business of this country; for it hath never been computed, that our current coin amounts to more than 500,000 l. so that if 40,000 l. of Mr. Wood's *brass money* is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this species should be brought in) it is manifest, that that sum will be near one-twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military lists, and pensions, *&c.* of this kingdom.

If

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If this ſum ſhould ſtagnate in the treaſury, it is certain, there will be no greater loſs (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but, if it is iſſued in monthly payments to the army, and other his majeſty's officers and miniſters, as in all probability it muſt; then this coin, being compoſed of a baſe metal, current only in the exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at leaſt 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be ſuddenly paid back again to the collectors, and, by that means, paſs through the treaſury, at leaſt three times in every year; for there, we are told, it is to meet with *no let or moleſtation.*

And, ſeeing the currency of this money is not inforced on any other of his majeſty's ſubjects, it is eaſy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and ſilver which will be current in the nation, will be ſettled by the *money-jobbers*, at about 20 *per cent.* diſcount.

By which means alone, there will be loſt in the intrinſic value of the revenue, the ſum of 24,000 l. *per annum*, without computing for the loſſes which muſt neceſſarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people: all which will be manifeſtly *deſtructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous conſequence to the properties of the ſubject.*

And yet the evil has been here computed, on a ſuppoſition that only 40,000 l. of this money will be

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be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impoſſible to limit the quantity that ſhall be brought in, eſpecially if the importers of it have ſo ſure a market for the ſame as the Exchequer.

For, though his Majeſty ſhould be able to prevent Mr. Wood from coining any more than 40,000 l. and ſhould never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his ſpecial licence or authority*, to enlarge that ſum, yet it will be impoſſible to prevent the importation of this ſort of coin from other nations. And there have been ſuch variety of *dyes* made uſe of by Mr. Wood in ſtamping his money, that it makes the diſcovery of counterfeits more difficult; and the profit is ſo great, that it will be a ſufficient temptation to our induſtrious neighbours of Holland to ſend large quantities of this coin to ſo ſure a market as the Exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a queſtion among lawyers, whether a man can be puniſhed at the king's ſuit, for counterfeiting this coin, becauſe it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for though theſe halfpence are to be received as money in the Exchequer, yet, in trade, they are no better than counters; and therefore, the patent may perhaps be conſtrued to be no more than a grant of a *monopoly* to make thoſe counters.

But it is worth obſerving, that if this patent is ſo worded, as that his Majeſty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuſe receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and

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and which are to be found in the books of rates distributed among the officers of the revenue.

For, by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his Majesty and his successors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of excise, or new impost, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expressly declared and enacted, *that the several rates and duties of excise, and all fines, penalties, forfeitures, or other sum or sums of money rated, imposed, set, or forfeited, in and by this act, are meant and intended to be current and lawful money or monies of* England, *and that all and every of the same be therefore demanded, received, paid, and satisfied accordingly.*

By these acts it is manifest, that the collectors are obliged to receive the several duties arising from the custom and excise, in no other money but such as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in this kingdom should receive the said duties, or any part of them, in Mr. Wood's *brass money*, it would be assuming to themselves a power to dispense with those acts of parliament, contrary to the sense of both houses of parliament, and contrary to their respective oaths; so that it seems

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highly reaſonable, becauſe conſonant to law, that *the officers of the revenue ſhould give orders to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin.*

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the king hath a power to direct what coin he pleaſes to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in conſequence of ſuch a prerogative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament aſſembled as in their private capacities, have ſhewed a general diſlike.

Moreover, as this caſe ſtands circumſtanced, it is a great queſtion whether his Majeſty hath ſuch a diſpenſing power: for though it ſhould be allowed, that his Majeſty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleaſes; yet it is moſt certain, that his Majeſty does not intend to enforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his ſubjects, much leſs doth his Majeſty intend to oblige thoſe, who are entitled by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr. Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of exciſe, there are ſeveral *fines*, *penalties*, and *forfeitures*, which, by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England; and to half thoſe *fines*, *forfeitures* and *penalties*, the informers are entitled, by virtue of the ſaid act: ſo that, if the officers ſhould be obliged to receive them in *braſs money*, the informers muſt neceſſarily loſe the benefit of the ſaid act; and I may venture to ſay, that act cannot

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cannot be repealed but by another act, to be made by king, lords, and commons, and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houses of parliament of Ireland, it is not to be wondered, that *they represent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of* Ireland. For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a patent, with powers not only *highly prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject*, but also, contrary to several acts of parliament? and that it was an unprecedented attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore, all the representations made of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may, with great truth, be called *notorious misrepresentations*.

But it has been said, that his Majesty cannot proceed against the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom should advise his Majesty to subvert or dispense with any of our laws. No part of the addresses from the houses of parliament of Ireland, has the least tendency this way.

For, though the house of commons, in their second address to his Majesty, *most humbly beseech his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several officers entrusted with the receipt of his Majesty's revenue, that they do not, on*

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any pretence whatſoever, utter ſuch halfpence and farthings: yet, if his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to have given orders, according to this humble addreſs of his people of Ireland, it is humbly conceived, that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath been ſaid, and not any way contrary to law.

For, though his Majeſty, by *his patent under the great ſeal of* Great-Britain, *wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of* Ireland, *and all other officers and miniſters of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in* England, Ireland, *or elſewhere, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid* William Wood, *his executors*, &c. *in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue and in purſuance of the ſaid indentures;* yet it is *in all things as becometh*, &c. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the ſaid patent, whereby it is manifeſt, that his Majeſty never intended *to enforce the currency of this money, to be received by any perſon that would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame.*

Therefore, ſince the people have ſhewed a general diſlike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that ſome method will be found out, to eaſe their minds from the diſtraction they are under on this occaſion.

A Short

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A Short View of the State of Ireland.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making mens court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufactures in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day encreasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole *island;* I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving, is, the fruitfulness of the soil, to produce the necessaries

and conveniences of life; not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The ſecond is, the induſtry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as much as poſſible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except thoſe who are in war with their own prince or ſtate.

The ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own conſent; for otherwiſe, they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many grievous impoveriſhments.

The ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreaſing the number of their people; without which, any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

The eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief adminiſtrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners for education,

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education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit or trust, only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or convenieney, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine, what share

ſhare falls to Ireland of theſe cauſes, or of the effects and conſequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe, far from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe thoſe, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and braſs, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world, thoſe who poſſeſs moſt wealth, make the leaſt parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reaſon to complain; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in ſome of which, however, we are only defective in point of ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is

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is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said, that the nation have received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord Chief-justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *libertas et natale solum*,* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution

* Liberty and my native country.

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conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewiſe the honour to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; thoſe few who attempt that, or planting, through covetouſneſs, or want of ſkill, generally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſucceeding in trees nor hedges; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us, that even the viceroy is generally abſent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to ſee nothing but ſcenes of miſery and deſolation.

Thoſe who have the misfortune to be born here, have the leaſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a political conſideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is ſpent in England; which, with the profit of employments, penſions, appeals, journies of pleaſure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both univerſities, remittances at pleaſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, ſilver, or even copper. In the Iſle of Man, they coin.

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coin their own *ſilver;* every petty prince, vaſſal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, as in moſt of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other ſtates or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the laſt, or fourteenth article, we take ſpecial care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole courſe of our lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, deſpiſe and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even thoſe which are better made than in other countries; particularly a ſort of ſilk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may paſs for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which, I am told, we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could eaſily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what ſecret method it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing people, without *liberty*, *trade*, *manufactures*, *inhabitants*, *money*, or the *privilege of coining;* without *induſtry*, *labour*, or *improvement of land;* and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a ſingle farthing: and, to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade caſual, corrupted, and at mercy; and ſome butter from Corke. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be againſt every law of nature and reaſon: like the thorn at Glaſtenbury, that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let

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Let the worthy *commiſſioners*, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country-ſeats; the commodious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is buſy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the ſhops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with cuſtomers; the comfortable diet and dreſs, and dwellings of the people; the vaſt numbers of ſhips in our harbours and docks, and ſhip-wrights in our ſea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourſe to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would thoſe gentlemen return from ſo delightful a progreſs? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England?

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for, it is manifeſt, that, whatever ſtranger took ſuch a journey, would be apt to think himſelf travelling in Lapland or *Iceland*, rather than in a country ſo favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulneſs of ſoil, and temperature of climate. The miſerable dreſs, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general deſolation in moſt parts of the kingdom; the old ſeats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their ſtead: the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and naſtineſs upon butter-

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butter-milk and potatoes, without a ſhoe or ſtocking to their feet, or a houſe ſo convenient as an Engliſh hog-ſty to receive them. Theſe, indeed, may be comfortable ſights to an Engliſh ſpectator; who comes for a ſhort time, only *to learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth tranſmitted.

Noſtra miſeria magna eſt.

There is not one argument uſed to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonſtration of its poverty. The riſe of our rents is ſqueezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worſe than Engliſh beggars. The lowneſs of intereſt, in all other countries a ſign of wealth, is in us a proof of miſery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of land, ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life; becauſe the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land, (which they muſt take, or go a-begging) without raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, although themſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe of buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increaſe of *bankers*, who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading country, but ſo ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have ſent away all our ſilver, and one-

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third of our gold; so that, within three years past, the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two; and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox, of the kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others, who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted, to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to *his majesty*, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year, without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but, how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtile piece of malice, that, because there may be a dozen families in this town able

to

to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests, upon their return to England, shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the houshold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude: If Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser, at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth*.

* The present state of Ireland ‖ is, in general, as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and, in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation of England, may be compared to a younger sister lately come of age, after having suffered all the miseries of an injured minor; such as law-suits, encroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, destruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble spirit of industry, have entirely relieved her, and, some little heart-burnings excepted, she enjoys the quiet possession of a very ample fortune, subject, by way of acknowledgment, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her house. *Take her all in all*, she cannot have a greater fortune than she deserves. *Orrery.*

‖ 1752.

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AN ANSWER TO A PAPER,

CALLED,

A MEMORIAL of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me, among others, without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But, pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was, indeed, the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers, to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and, when their leases are near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it*. This

* This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*. Hawkes.

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This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers leases, were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus, a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master-grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of an hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their *knavery*, *brutality*, and *folly*. But neither are the *'squires* and *landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of *beggars*, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in England; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of

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their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thousand souls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a *wild* Indian would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *sheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *sheep*, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to some *few* ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more *sheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *flesh*. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock of *sheep* for his enemies: but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* business is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and use-

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ſul commodities, if rightly managed. But it ſeems, the greateſt part of the *hides* are ſent out raw, for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow ſtronger: for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it, is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, ſtill continues ſcandalous in foreign markets, for *the old reaſons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to beſtow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who ſhould eat their ſhare, and force the reſt to ſend ſometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhed piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehenſion.

I know very well that our anceſtors the Scythians, and their poſterity our kinſmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood and milk and raw fleſh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*: but I confeſs myſelf ſo degenerate, that I am not eaſy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to ſee, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *fleſh meat* ſhould be monſtrouſly *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not ſome regulation in the price of *fleſh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine myſelf to have gueſſed out the reaſon: in ſhort, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is overſtocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*: and as it

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it is obſerved, that the poor *Iriſh* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; ſo I conceive it much more difficult at preſent to find a fat *bullock* or *weather*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am aſſured, that the diſtrict in the ſeveral markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reaſonable as the poor can deſire; only the circumſtance of *money to purchaſe it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchaſe* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thouſand barrels of *wheat*, you ſay, ſhould be imported hither; and ten thouſand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purſe of the nation? I am no commiſſioner of the *treaſury*; but am well aſſured, that the whole running *caſh* would not ſupply you with a ſum to purchaſe ſo much *corn*, which, only at twenty ſhillings a barrel, will be a hundred thouſand pounds; and ten thouſand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffic for your *corn* with other goods: and where are thoſe goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *abſentees*, and other occaſions, in London, beſides a huge balance of trade this year againſt us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I ſuppoſe, they will value it at little more than ſo much a quire. Where are theſe

rich

rich farmers and *ingroſſers of corn*, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price: find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum, is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miſerable ſtate* of this nation. *Tea*, *coffee*, *ſugar*, *ſpices*, *wine*, and *foreign cloths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt, becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *ſecret*, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the *cuſtoms* in London: they ſaid, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the conſequence was, to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions, was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the buſineſs of laying *heavy impoſitions*, two and two never made more than one; which happens by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of running ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their huſbands can

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can deſerve, and the men are fond enough of wine; yet the number of both, who can afford ſuch expences, is ſo ſmall, that the major part muſt refuſe gratifying themſelves, and the duties will rather be leſſened than increaſed. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet ſo preternatural a ſum, as one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, raiſed all on a ſudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is juſt in proportion with raiſing a million and a half in England; which, as things now ſtand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under ſome difficulties.

You are concerned how ſtrange and ſurpriſing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were ſtarving in a RICH country, *&c.* Are you in earneſt? is Ireland the *rich country* you mean? or are you inſulting our *poverty?* were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are ſaving all you can to purchaſe a good eſtate in England. But by talking ſo familiarly of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our preſent condition; or elſe you would know and allow, that ſuch a ſum is not to be raiſed here, without a *general exciſe;* ſince, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Moſt certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchaſe the twentieth part of it.

Sir,

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Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in *potatoes* and *butter-milk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *justice* as well as *charity*. In the mean time, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not, as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country.

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all

all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I write was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country; where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants, or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *whig* and *tory*, of *high-church* and *low-church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of *strops for razors* *: while *agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the streets; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.*

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country, which is left

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended. *Hawkes.*

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left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe advantages which God hath given it in ſoil, climate, and ſituation.

But having lately ſent out a paper, entitled, *a ſhort view of the ſtate of* Ireland; and hearing of an objection, that ſome people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed with an appearance of ſeverity: ſince I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myſelf in that particular, I chooſe to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which I ſuppoſe will be univerſally granted, that no *little creature* of ſo mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I anſwer thus; Whether there be two different goddeſſes called Fame, as ſome authors contend, or only one goddeſs ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people diſtinguiſhed for their *villany*, have as good a title to a blaſt from the *proper trumpet*, as thoſe who are moſt renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. And accordingly the names of the moſt *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity. And although the perſon here underſtood, acted his part in an obſcure corner of the world, yet his talents might have ſhone with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain honeſt reaſon is the beſt. He was armed with power

and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just *Latin* enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum;* so that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuser *, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est; hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but in this case I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have

* Anytus, one of the wretches who accused Socrates of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country. *Hawkes.*

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I have now present before me the idea of some persons, (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they sleep) in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in *mischief*, *scandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice*, *brutality*, *faction*, *pride*, *malice*, *treachery*, *noise*, *impudence*, *dulness*, *ignorance*, *vanity*, and *revenge*, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or safe, to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be some benefits for their survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

your humble servant,

Dublin, March 25. 1728. A. B.

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A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN Lord CARTERET, from the charge of favouring none but *Tories*, *High-churchmen*, and *Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important ſubject with the greateſt fairneſs and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give ſome account of his *excellency;* in whoſe life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very juſt ſuſpicion of ſome truth in the accuſation he lies under.

He is deſcended from two noble, antient, and moſt loyal families, the Carterets and the Granvilles: too much diſtinguiſhed, I confeſs, for what they acted, and what they ſuffered in defending the former conſtitution in church and ſtate under king Charles the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whoſe martyrdom *a form*

* The view of this piece ſeems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance. *Hawkeſ.*

In this piece the failings of the noble Lord, ariſing from the prejudices of great talents and a learned education, are finely diſplayed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched here abundance of ſatire. *Piſtorides*, that poor, angry, buſtling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his ſatire againſt *Trauius* he ſpares not to draw blood at every ſtroke; the former part of which is bitterly ſarcaſtic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of *Ageſilaus* being caught by the *parſon of the pariſh* riding on a hobby-horſe with his children, and ſome other touches of the like ſort, are truly diverting. *D. Swift.*

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form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January *every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity;* as we may read at large in our *common-prayer-books*; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the present Lord was educated in the university of Oxford; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and *philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank, indeed much more of each than most of those, who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops, and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom, although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit; and, to finish the work, all these were fortified, even in his youth, with the advantages received by such employments, as

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are beſt fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the gifts of nature and education, having been ambaſſador in ſeveral courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal ſecretary of ſtate at a period, when, according to cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in loſing his money at a chocolate-houſe; or in other amuſements equally laudable and epidemic among perſons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak ſide in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid books, even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; becauſe I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbows, he grows a moſt unſupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhments above mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and graceful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, and vigour, he hath in a moſt unexemplary manner led a regular domeſtic life; diſcovers a great eſteem, and friendſhip,

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ſhip, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children: and when he is diſpoſed to admit an entertaining evening companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the perſon may poſſibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a *tory*; nor at ſuch times do the natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pretender* make any part of the converſation: I preſume, becauſe neither Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

Theſe I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philoſophers and divines, that ſome allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſentiments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Piſtorides. For theſe have decided the matter directly againſt me, by declaring, that no perſon, who was ever known to lie under the ſuſpicion of one ſingle *tory* principle, or who had been once ſeen at a great man's levee in the *worſt of times**, ſhould be allowed to come within the verge of the caſtle; much leſs to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the *aſſemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare aſſert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that, on the contrary, a conſiderable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now

* The three laſt years of queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was miniſter, were ſo called by the whigs. *Hawkeſ.*

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now an *ornament*, *happineſs*, and *ſupport* to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on ſome other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to diſcover whether madam * Violante be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that ſhe hath ever been *offered the oaths to the government:* on the contrary, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth herſelf to be a *high-flyer;* and it is not improbable, by her outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a *papiſt* in her heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dangerous female openly careſſed by principal perſons of both parties; who contribute to ſupport her in a ſplendid manner, without the leaſt apprehenſions from a *grand-jury*, or even from 'ſquire Hartly Hutcheſon himſelf, that *zealous proſecutor of hawkers and libels.* And, as Hobbes wiſely obſerves, *ſo much money* being equivalent to *ſo much power*, it may deſerve conſidering, with what ſafety ſuch an inſtrument of *power* ought to be truſted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal ſecurity for her good affection to the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could wiſh our friends would think proper to redreſs. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom, of the *old-faſhioned ſtamp*, of whom we might make very good uſe; they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the Hanoverian

* A famous Italian rope-dancer. *Hawkeſ.*

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verian family in the perſon of king George II.; the ſame abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the conſequences of *popery* and *ſlavery*, and the ſame indulgence to *tender conſciences*: but, having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and, therefore, the more leiſure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears, and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at this ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal Piſtorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one ſide, and of *averſion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a *ſurgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the Earl of Galway, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had

ſet

set apart one hundred guineas, to purchase the Earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever *it* should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits, against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy; neither of which is likely to be at hand; and, therefore, the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am, therefore, sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus: who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to out-do even the genius of Pistorides, in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency or discretion against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an *honest* gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest friendship; provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered: but, in the midst of *caresses*, *visits*, and *invitations*, to run into the streets, or to as *public a place*, and, without the least pretended incitement, sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was *all for his service*: this proceeding I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid lest such

ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo *open*, ſo *foul*, and ſo *full of ſores*, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political *ſurgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation; who, without waiting for his death, will *ſlay* and *diſſect* him alive; and, to the view of mankind, lay open all the diſordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatus's of his ſpleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In ſuch a caſe, what a ſcene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaken friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particularifing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies, ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt: furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence muſt be, a confinement of our *friend*, for ſome months *more*, to his garret; and thereby depriving the public, for ſo long time, and in ſo *important a juncture*, of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt through a hole; but I hope with a ſpecial regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe

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because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the *curators* of Bedlam assure us, that some lunatics are persons of *honour*, *truth*, *benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, discover, in every word and action, the utmost *baseness* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal, which our *friend* shews or means for our cause. And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth fluency of his elocution*, *bestowed on him by nature*, *and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comeliness of his person*, the *harmony of his voice*, the *gracefulness of his manner*, and the *decency of his dress*, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any public occasion of making them appear with *universal applause*. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their *jest* better than their *friend*; surely, to gain the reputation of the first *orator* in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and, as some kinds of assemblies are called *the schools of politics*, I confess nothing can better improve political

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litical ſchool-boys, than the art of making plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt the very opinion for which they reſolve to determine.

So cardinal Perron, after having ſpoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the exiſtence of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could have ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of our *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion: If perſons in high ſtations have *been allowed* to chooſe *wenches* without regard to difference in religion, *yet* never *incurred* the leaſt reflection on their loyalty, or their proteſtantiſm; ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured for chooſing a *companion*, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing from the *orthodox* in ſome ſpeculative opinions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a ſound *whig*?

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a perſon ſent to govern Ireland, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide it happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged *one* or *two* gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majeſty, and pray heartily for

 him;

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him; yet because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* tories, by Pistorides and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them, under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere *protestant* and a loyal subject, and yet rather choose to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalists, in the *present* sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *understandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? our thorough-sped republic of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hopers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *professors*, are, beyond all doubt, most *highly useful* to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do

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I do not deny it possible, that an original or proselyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which, in former ages, qualified a man to be a poet, or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it sweeps the house clean*, and leaves room for many *other spirits* to take joint possession, until the *last state of that man is exceedingly* better *than the first*.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others, have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table, to some *book-learned* companion, without blushing, even when persons of *great stations* are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language, is too apt to spoil their *politics* and *principles*; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons *directly contrary, in every point*, to the *present practice* of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans, made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a

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minister; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books;* yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against *religion* and *high-flying;* whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity, which best becomes a *senator* and a *squire.*

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agesilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates, a heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king called Cæsar Augustus (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of *tories;* and that two great men called Scipio and Lelius, (I forget their *christian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck* and *drake* with smooth stones on a river.

Now,

Now, I ſay, if theſe facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our moſt zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public ſcandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I ſay, why he may not be indulged twice a week, to converſe with one or two particular perſons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings ſpent in hearing and preſcribing *ways and means* from and to his *moſt obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the ſaid particular perſon or perſons may not have made ſo public a declaration of their political faith, in all its parts, as the buſineſs of the nation requires: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right;* by whom the *liberty* of the ſubject hath been ſo frequently, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who, by their wiſe counſels, have made *commerce* to flouriſh, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encreaſe, the value of lands and rents to riſe; and the whole iſland put on a new face of *plenty* and *proſperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accuſation of ſhewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories* and *jacobites*, it will be neceſſary to come to particulars.

The firſt perſon of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be

obſerved, that this happened ſo early in his exceſlency's government, as it may be juſtly ſuppoſed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon ſo *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and ſucceſs in the education of youth, beyond moſt of his profeſſion for many years paſt, was recommended to his excellency on the ſcore of his learning, and particularly, for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it ſeems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reaſons, I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordſhip was too eaſily prevailed on by the doctor's requeſt, or, indeed, rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by ſome heathen author; but, whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, muſt be left to the conſciences of the *boys*, and the *doctor*, and his *excellency*; the *only* witneſſes, in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depended upon.

It ſeems, his excellency (a thing never to be ſufficiently wondered at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainment, that, ſome time after, he gave the doctor a church-living, to the value of almoſt one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good ſchoolmaſters ought to be encouraged in every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet, his excellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep without ſtrong recommendations from perſons

ſons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themſelves bound, in juſtice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take poſſeſſion of his pariſh, and furniſhed with a few led ſermons, whereof, as it is to be ſuppoſed, the number was very ſmall, having never ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopped at Corke to attend on his biſhop; and, going to church on the *Sunday* following, was, according to the uſual civility of country clergymen, invited by the miniſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the firſt of Auguſt; and the firſt of Auguſt *happened*, that year, to light upon a *Sunday*: and it *happened*, that the doctor's text was in theſe words; *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and laſtly, it *happened*, that ſome one perſon of the congregation, whoſe loyalty made him watchful, upon every appearance of danger to his majeſty's perſon and government, when ſervice was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately ſent up to town; and, by the zeal of one man, *of no large dimenſions of body or mind*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed, that we in Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the *pretender*, who muſt be landed in the *ſouth*. The reſult was, that the doctor muſt be ſtruck out of the

* The firſt of Auguſt is the anniverſary of the Hanoverian family's acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkeſ.*

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the chaplains list, and appear no more at the castle; yet, whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a secret; only it is manifest, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family, through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that, not having observed the words till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that, in the whole sermon, there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident, there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who, under the suspicion of a *tory*, received some favour from his excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *whig* in England, on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of *tories*: and therefore, think

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think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under ſome diſadvantage; having, in his youth, received many civilities from a certain perſon*, then in a very high ſtation here; for which reaſon, I doubt the doctor never drank his confuſion ſince; and, what makes the matter deſperate, it is now too late; unleſs our *inquiſitors* will be content with drinking *confuſion* to his *memory*. The aforeſaid eminent perſon, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, diſtinguiſhed the doctor among other juniors in our univerſity, for his learning, virtue, diſcretion, and good ſenſe. But the doctor was then in too good a ſituation at his college, to hope or endeavour at a better eſtabliſhment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the preſent Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a *friend*†, among other clergy of diſtinction, as perſons whoſe characters it was proper his excellency ſhould know; and by the truth of which, the *giver* would be content to ſtand or fall in his excellency's opinion; ſince not one of thoſe perſons were in particular friendſhip with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and ſome other incidents, particularly the recommendation of

* Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

† The author.

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of the late archbiſhop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whoſe fatal turn of mind towards *heatheniſh* and *outlandiſh* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like diſpoſition in the doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo domeſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the managers of the diſcipline in that learned ſociety, (which it may not be for their honour to mention) reſolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his ſenior fellowſhip, with all its perquiſites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thouſand pounds. And a ſmall northern living, in the univerſity's donation, of ſomewhat better than one hundred pounds a year, falling at the ſame time with the chancellorſhip of Chriſt-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty condition; having ſquandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover either on the exchange, or at a banker's ſhop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the ſame value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid the great incumbrances

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brances upon it; so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments, in scattered tithes, three hundred pounds a year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But, since the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory;* and that the Lord Lieutenant still continues to admit him; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new *free-mason*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any *tory* doctrines; except perhaps some among those few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred, for the most *solid reasons*, to the *whole body* of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and, upon the strictest examination, have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any *party* suspicion can ly; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor Sheridan, who, by mere chance-medley, shot his own fortune dead with a single *text*.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one person of the *tory* stamp, who, since the beginning of his excellency's government, did ever receive any solid mark of his favour; I mean Sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged *tory;* and, what

of the late archbishop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards *heathenish* and *outlandish* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that [illegible] which it may not be for their [illegible] after which, it may be [illegible] thur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithstanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, *&c.* 500l. the interest whereof *per annum* - -	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troopers, but which the said troopers must be at the labour of catching, valued, *per annum*	5	0	0
For straggling sheep - -	8	0	0
For game destroyed five miles round -	6	0	0
	49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur - -	60	0	0
Deduct - - -	49	0	0
Remains clear - -	11	0	0

Thus,

* See a poem upon this incident, entitled, *The grand question debated, &c.* Vol. IX.

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brances upon it; so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments, in scattered tithes, three hundred pounds a year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But, since the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory*; and that the Lord Lieutenant still continues to [illegible] the farmers there, of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetic, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir Arthur must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may, with good management, be a *saver* at least; which is a *prodigious instance of moderation* in our friends towards a professed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend, by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question; and the accompt will stand thus:

Dispoſed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the ſpace of ſix years:

To doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinſale, *per ann.*	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheſon, Baronet, a barrack, *per ann.*	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in groſs the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *proteſtant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly ſaid to beſtow biſhoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commiſſioner in the revenue, and ſome others; yet they are for the moſt part diſpoſed upon his recommendation, except where the perſons are immediately ſent from England by their intereſt at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* conſiderable ſtation conferred on a *tory* ſince his preſent excellency's government, was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous,

rous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) *real tories* can often, with much less difficulty, obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To persons promoted to bishoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per ann.*	10,050 0 0
To civil employments - - -	9030 0 0
To military commands - -	8436 0 0
	27,516 0 0

TORY account.

To *tories* - - - -	111 0 0
Balance - - - -	27,405 0 0

I shall conclude with this observation, that as I think the *tories* have sufficient reason to be *fully satisfied* with the share of *trust*, *power*, and *employments*, which they possess under the *lenity* of the present government; so, I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *high-church*, *high-flyers*, *termagants*, *Laudists*, *Sacheverelians*, *tip-top-gallant-men*, *jacobites*, *tantivys*, *anti-hanoverians*, *friends to popery*

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and the pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, *breakers of* DEPENDENCY, *inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of* TRUE *protestants, laurel men, Annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians*, and the like; when, by a fair state of the account, the balance, I conceive, *seems to lie* on the other side.

CONSI-

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CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS sent down from the right honourable the house of LORDS to the honourable the house of COMMONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLERGY *.

Written in the year 1731.

I HAVE often, for above a month past, desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the *house of lords*: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the house of lords, by a great majority of the right reverend the bishops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and passed by the lords in parliament. It was afterwards sent to the house of commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following considerations, who hath always been the best friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be seen by many parts of his writings, opposed this pernicious project with great success; which, if it had passed into a law, would have been of the worst consequence to this nation.

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be acquainted with any one ſingle *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a ſtranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be ſuppoſed to act upon a principle of reſentment. I eſteem their functions (if I may be allowed to ſay ſo without offence) as truly *apoſtolical*, and abſolutely neceſſary to the perfection of a *chriſtian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or inſenſibility for other mens ſufferings, and a ſudden forgetfulneſs of their own former humble ſtate, when they riſe in the world. Theſe two diſpoſitions have not, I think, any where ſo ſtrongly exerted themſelves, as in the order of biſhops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reaſons, but ſuch as naturally ſhould ſeem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a moſt miſerable race of beggarly farmers; at whoſe mercy every *miniſter* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector* or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As ſoon as he is promoted to a *biſhopric*, the ſcene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as ſurely paid as thoſe of the *king*; his whole buſineſs is once a-year to receive the attendance, the ſubmiſſion, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the dioceſe he ſhall pleaſe to think moſt convenient for himſelf.

Neither

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Neither is his personal presence necessary; for the business may be done by a *vicar general*. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *secretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*, *seneschals*, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, *like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *Mall*, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are

are promoted to *bishoprics*, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion, were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren,

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brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in England, and the *house of lords* hath with great expedition passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the *commons* for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50 l. a year, the minister is bound to build, after three years, a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55 l. *per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77 l. 10 s. and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 l. a year, the minister shall be allowed 100 l. out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church, or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice, or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration (an office, which ever

ever falls into the moſt knaviſh hands) upon whatever part his *lordſhip* ſhall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle muſt increaſe for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland, reputed to poſſeſs a pariſh of 100 l. *per annum*, who for ſome years paſt have actually received 60 l. and that with the utmoſt difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loſs, what kind of valuators the *biſhops* will make uſe of; and whether the ſtarving *vicar* ſhall be forced to build his houſe with the money he never received.

The other bill, which paſſed in two days after the former, is ſaid to concern the diviſion of pariſhes into as many parcels as the *biſhop* ſhall think fit, only leaving 300 l. a year to the *mother* church; which 300 l. by another *act* paſſed ſome years ago, they can divide likewiſe, and crumble as low as their will and pleaſure will diſpoſe them. So that, inſtead of ſix hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the uſual computation, we may have in a ſmall compaſs of years almoſt as many thouſands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hoſpitality.

But it is very reaſonable to hope, and heartily to be wiſhed by all thoſe, who have the leaſt regard to our holy religion as hitherto eſtabliſhed, or to a learned, pious, diligent converſable *clergyman*,

gyman, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable house of commons* will, in their great wisdom, justice and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion: That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts, there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with *commissions of the peace*, which several of the *clergy* now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the son of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *miller*, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the Scotch

Scotch proverb, *a hungry louse bites sore.* This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched *pastor* at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living, is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *bishops* enjoy as ample a power both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office: that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen, over whom they preside: that, if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality: that, if the general, impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party*, *alliance*, *kindred*, *flatterers*, *ill judgement*, or *personal favour* regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention *ignorance* and *stupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices,

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voices, and ungainly ſtrut in their walk, without one ſingle talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of *flattery* and *cringing*: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I could never, in point of good conſcience or honour, have recommended to a *curacy* in Connaught.

The *honourable houſe of commons* may likewiſe perhaps conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being leſs capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that moſt of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwiſe than by the church, in which there might be ſome hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons ſhould have ſettled their *ſons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *dependents*, and their *followers* invited over from the other ſide, there would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church preferments to be given to ſuch clergy of the nation, who ſhall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in faſhion. But by theſe bills, they will be all as abſolutely excluded, as if they had paſſed under the denomination of *tories*; unleſs they can be contented at the utmoſt with 50l. a year; which by the difficulties of collecting tythes in Ireland, and the daily increaſing miſeries of the people, will hardly riſe to half that ſum.

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It is obſerved, that the *divines* ſent over hither to govern this church, have not ſeemed to conſider the difference between both kingdoms with reſpect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themſelves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which conſequently muſt be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public diſtreſs ſo little affects their intereſts, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themſelves to ſuppoſe, that whatever a pariſh is ſaid to be worth, comes all into the *parſon's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England, hath been the continual complaint of all men who wiſh well to the church, and many ſchemes have been thought on to redreſs it; yet an Engliſh *vicar* of 40 l. a year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally ſpeaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of antient ſtanding, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themſelves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a houſe and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No gueſt expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honeſt plain farmer, as his wife is dreſſed but little better than *goody*. He is ſometimes graciouſly invited by the 'ſquire, where he ſits at an humble diſtance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little uſeful

preſents:

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presents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry *servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the *honourable house of commons* may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40s. *per annum*, *ultra reprisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *bishops*. For by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my *lords* the *bishops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of *ecclesiastical militants*, able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our *true protestant brethren*, the *dissenters*.

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The ſcheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houſes, by dividing a living of 500 l. a year into ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong ſide of my comprehenſion; unleſs it may be argued, that *biſhops* build no houſes, becauſe they are ſo rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in England, who could never be perſuaded to keep a *ſervant* out of *livery*; becauſe ſuch ſervants would be expenſive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to ſubmit to the baſeſt offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increaſe his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wiſe men, that before theſe bills paſs both houſes, they ſhould be ſent back to England with the following clauſes inſerted.

Firſt, that whereas there may be about a dozen double *biſhopricks* in Ireland, thoſe *biſhopricks* ſhould be ſplit and given to different perſons; and thoſe of a ſingle denomination be alſo divided into two, three, or four parts, as occaſion ſhall require; otherwiſe there may be a queſtion ſtarted, whether twenty two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of ſo great a number of ſpiritual *ſubjects*. But this propoſal will meet with ſuch furious objections, that I ſhall not inſiſt upon it; for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in, upon a report that the *ſun* was going to marry.

Another

Another clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children baſtards: for ſome deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gentry ſhould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Others add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence, that theſe reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their ſpiritual offices: (for, unleſs I miſapprehend, they are ſuppoſed to have *epiſcopal ordination.*) For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor: they may let blood, or apply plaſters for three miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold the *clerkſhip* and *ſextonſhip* of their own pariſh *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *ſoldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *ſpin*, and keep a few looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unleſs to ſober company, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought a little hard, that in an affair of the laſt conſequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed in-

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ſtructors of the nation in chriſtianity and moral virtues, and are the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole perſons not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like precedent in Chriſtendom for twelve hundred years paſt. An act of parliament for ſettling or ſelling an eſtate in a private family is never paſſed, until all parties give conſent. But in the preſent caſe, the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin, without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages: where it is preſumed, the *lower houſe* hath a power of propoſing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no pariſh ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons, from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-reſidence*.

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ſidence. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in England; unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be moſt pardonably few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the biſhops* will be ſoon able to convince the *clergy*, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordſhips* minds, by procuring theſe bills, was to prevent the ſin of *non-reſidence*; while the univerſal opinion of almoſt every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party, taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

If ſome livings in the *north* may be juſtly thought too large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church, which in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable *clergyman* would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for inſtance, the *deanry of* Down, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of pariſhes joined together in a time when the land lay waſte and thinly inhabited; ſince thoſe circumſtances are ſo prodigiouſly changed for the better, may properly be leſſened,

leſſened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now ſerved only by ſtipendiary *curates*.

The caſe may be probably the ſame in other parts: and ſuch a proceeding diſcreetly managed, would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be obſerved, that the dean and chapter lands, which in England were all ſeized under the fanatic uſurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long raviſhed from the church by a ſucceſſion of confuſions, and tythes applied in their ſtead to ſupport that eccleſiaſtical dignity.

The late * *archbiſhop of* Dublin had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his dioceſe to reſidence: when a leaſe had run out ſeven years or more, he ſtipulated with the tenant to reſign up twenty or thirty acres to the miniſter of the pariſh where it lay convenient, without leſſening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the higheſt rates, leaving a ſmall chiefry for the miniſter to pay, hardly a ſixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almoſt every *biſhop* in the kingdom may do the ſame generous act, with leſs damage to their ſees, than his late *grace of* Dublin, much of whoſe lands were out in fee-farms, or leaſes for lives; and I am ſorry that the good example of ſuch a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot

* The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

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cannot hitherto reconcile themſelves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that muſt inevitably root out the ſeeds of all honeſt emulation, the legal parent of the greateſt virtues and moſt generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itſelf in the breaſt of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom ſhall produce.

But, whether the conſequences of theſe bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *biſhops* ſent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I ſhall not preſume to determine, ſince God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to aſſert: That from the earlieſt ages of chriſtianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of ſuch a proceeding, much leſs was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from ſuch hands in any chriſtian country; and ſo it may paſs for more than a *phœnix*; becauſe it hath riſen without any aſſiſtance from the *aſhes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of ſo many *diſſenters* at the hearing of this cauſe, is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; becauſe that action hath been cenſured as a mark of *triumph* and inſult before the *victory* is complete: ſince neither of theſe bills hath yet paſſed the *houſe of commons*, and ſome are pleaſed to think it not impoſſible that they may be

be* rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or sub-divided tythes towards encreasing the stipends of the *sectaries*. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort, when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of so high a nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence; because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those, who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the score of *disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24th,
1731-2.

A PRO-

* They were rejected in the *house of commons* by a great majority. *Hawkes.*

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A PROPOSAL

FOR

An ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay off the DEBT of the nation, without taxing the subject; by which the number of landed gentry will be considerably increased, and no person will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge. *

Written in the year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation, are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition, by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *absentees*, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

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on a racked eſtate would be a burthen wholly inſupportable.

The queſtion will then be, how theſe national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the ſeveral particulars of my propoſal; which I ſhall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordſhips the archbiſhops and biſhops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 l. *per ann.*; I mean the rents, which the biſhops receive from their tenants. But the real value of thoſe lands at a full rent, taking the ſeveral ſees one with another, is reckoned to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſo that, multiplying 36,800 l. by 4, the full rent of all the biſhops lands will amount to 147,200 l. *per ann.*; from which ſubtracting the preſent rent received by their lordſhips, that is, 36,800 l. the profits of the lands received by the firſt and ſecond tenants, (who both have great bargains) will riſe to the ſum of 110,400 l. *per ann.*; which lands, if they were to be ſold at twenty two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſum of 2,428,800 l. reſerving to the biſhops their preſent rents, only excluding fines.

Of this ſum, I propoſe, that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 l. ſo much be applied, as will intirely diſcharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treaſury to ſupply contingencies, as well as to diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But,

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But, whereas the prefent fet of bifhops would be great lofers by this fcheme, for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to fuch *religious*, *loyal*, and *deferving* perfonages; I have therefore fet apart the other half to fupply that defect, which it will more than fufficiently do.

A bifhop's leafe for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchafe; but if we take the bifhops round, I fuppofe there may be four years of each leafe elapfed; and many of the bifhops being well ftricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than feven years purchafe; fo that the purchafers may very well afford fifteen years purchafe for the reverfion, efpecially by one great additional advantage, which I fhall foon mention.

This fum of 2,428,800 l. muft likewife be funk very confiderably; becaufe the lands are to be fold only at fifteen years purchafe, and this leffens the fum to about 1,656,000 l. of which I propofe twelve hundred thoufand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 l. I propofe as a fund for paying the prefent fet of bifhops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public ftock.

Although the bifhops round do not, in reality, receive three fines a-piece, which take up twenty-one years, yet I allow it to be fo; but then I will fuppofe them to take but one year's rent, in recompence of giving them fo large a term of

 life;

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life; and thus, multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 l. so that above three-fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet, where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however, the mistakes I may have been guilty of, will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see-lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other see will find candidates enow. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor;* I mean, the persons who succeed, may choose whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop, be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues, without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishopric

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ſhopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter ſooner to bear; which, if the crown ſhall think fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſet of biſhops; and, conſequently, encourage purchaſers of their lands. For example; if a primate ſhould die, and the gradation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby ſave a great part of that ſum, which I have appropriated towards ſupplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years purchaſe above the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lands will have a ſanction from the king and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: beſides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worſe lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to diſpoſe of it, but in buying of land; which, conſequently, makes the owners hold it ſo high.

Beſides paying the nation's debts, the ſale of theſe lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry, where the biſhops tenants are not able or willing to purchaſe; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: ſeveral perſons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the

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buyers, rather than give thirty years purchaſe at home, under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs: by which means, much money may be brought among us; and, probably, ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may be content to live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-ſolvencies* in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, when the purchaſers will have lands in their own power to give long and eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhoprics, of equal income, to be of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, according as they are circumſtanced. For inſtance, the lands of the primacy, and ſome other ſees, are let ſo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſees of Meath and Clonfert, conſiſting, as I am told, much of tithes, thoſe tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the ſee of Dublin is ſaid to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for lives, which pay very little, and not ſo ſoon, nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbiſhops, and my lords the biſhops, will heartily join in this propoſal, out of gratitude to his late and preſent Majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on them ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to this country,

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country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts, without impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For, the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality, and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen, by the profits of these very leases, under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines, at the pleasure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, especially the *dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg leave to differ from them) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet, to be distributed to poor proselytes.

I will add one word more, that, by such a wholesome law, all the oppressions felt by under-

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tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular: That, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in, for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots: neither was it properly mine; although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet, since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence, as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And, if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law, (which, being not in the least injurious to England, will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom, will be well rewarded.

AN

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AN EXAMINATION

OF

Certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police:* by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government, our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting, which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions spread almost through every part of Dublin; and proposing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of.

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The narrow compaſs, to which I have confined myſelf in this paper, will allow me only to touch the moſt important defects; and ſuch as I think ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy redreſs.

And firſt: Perhaps there was never known a wiſer inſtitution, than that of allowing certain perſons of both ſexes in large and populous cities, to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries of life: it would be endleſs to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this uſeful invention; and particularly ſtrangers forced hither by buſineſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time: for theſe, having uſually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an eaſy price purchaſe a tolerable dinner, if the ſeveral criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to ſell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers ſhall think it proper to interpoſe ſo far, as to make thoſe traders pronounce their words in ſuch terms, that a plain chriſtian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would adviſe all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there ſee whether the thing that is cried be *tripes*, or *flummery*, *butter-milk*, or *cow-heels*. For as things are now managed, how is it poſſible for an honeſt country man juſt arrived, to find out what is meant, for inſtance, by the following words, with which his ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a day, *muggs*, *juggs*, *and porringers*, *up in the garret*, *and down in the cellar*; I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtranger to underſtand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation

tation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of *herrings* is directly against all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here;* the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*. And pray how is it possible, that a *herring*, which, as *philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these *herrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches, who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their *salmon*, and cry *salmon alive, alive;* whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual *salmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and

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and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain; so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *cry*, which from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *sweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase *sweet hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *cry* doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with *parsons and attornies*; but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person that frequents the *castle*, our public walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crowds of † *toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in London; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjustly by the *tories*. While these

* A sort of sugar cakes in the shape of hearts.

† A new name of a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. 1. 1733.

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these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders to call aloud at every house, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the earth like *rubbish*. But since that happy turn of times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *inch* from *popery*, *slavery*, *massacre*, and the *pretender*, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same *cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every person, who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British *fundaments* to make the world believe, that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently, that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a British *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements,

upon

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upon a ſtrict view, appearing copple crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could, by ſmelling each finger, diſtinguiſh the Hibernian excrement from the Britiſh, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

There is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the *butchers;* but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through many ſtreets; it is called the COSSING *of a dog:* and I may juſtly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A ſtrange dog happens to paſs through a fleſh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice, and the proper tone, *coſs, coſs,* ſeveral times. The ſame word is repeated by the people. The dog,

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dog, who perfectly underſtands the terms of art, and conſequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people and even his own brother animals purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and ſometimes hardly eſcapes. This our ill wiſhers of the *Jacobite* kind are pleaſed to call a *perſecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourſelves, by juſtly alledging, that when they were uppermoſt, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended theſe *proceſſions*, although I can very well diſtinguiſh between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my reſentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were againſt certain malicious *dogs*, who moſt diſcovered their enmity againſt us in the *worſt of times* *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the Earl of Oxford, a large maſtiff of our party being unmercifully *coſſed*, ran without thinking between my legs; as I was coming up Fiſhamble ſtreet; and, as I am of low ſtature, with very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made uſe of his tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my hands, and clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I

 got

* A cant word uſed by the Whigs for the four laſt years of queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry.

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got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this, and many other *services* and *sufferings* † I have been since more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of *cossing*, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *worriers* of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to sculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call coach, coach, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the absence of a few members for a few minutes, a question may be carried against the *true interest* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, Vol. I.

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I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of this town ſo much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of ſigns to hang over houſes where punch is to be ſold. The bowl is repreſented full of punch, the ladle ſtands erect in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one and ſometimes by two animals, whoſe feet reſt upon the edge of the bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black lion, and ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle eagle, and ſometimes a ſpread one; and we often meet a crow, a ſwan, a bear, or a cock, in the ſame poſture.

Now, I cannot find how any of theſe animals, either ſeparate or in conjunction, are, properly ſpeaking, fit emblems or embelliſhments to advance the ſale of punch. Beſides, it is agreed among *naturaliſts*, that no brute can endure the taſte of ſtrong liquor, except where he hath been uſed to it from his infancy; and conſequently it is againſt all the rules of *hieroglyph* to aſſign thoſe animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that caſe, we ought to ſuppoſe, that the hoſt keeps always ready the real bird or beaſt, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his gueſts; which however to my knowledge is not true in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper companion for a *chriſtian*, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the ſign, they are much more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; nei-

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ther are any of them all *handy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently suspect a *plot* intended against the government by these devices. For although the *spread eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *protestant* sign; yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is said to be of German birth; and that many *popish* princes in so vast an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: besides, it is plain, that the *spread eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *cross*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him in black, is perfect *Jacobitism*, and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the

Jacobites

Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: The least offensive picture in the whole set, seems to be the *bear*; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the *north*, where the *reformation* first began; and which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the *true protestant* religion. But however, in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all *true whigs*, as their predecessors did the primitive christians; I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to beat us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to *punch*. I own, it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet: for these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *popish Jacobites*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is easier, than

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to prove it a disaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are, *brandy*, *oranges*, and *lemons*, are all sent us from *popish* countries; and nothing remains of *protestant* growth, but *sugar* and *water*. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly British, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is, by one important innovation, grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original institution of making *punch*, left us by captain Ratcliff, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of *lemons*; and so continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yesterday*. It was the politics of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? The thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty king William *of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty encreaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay, at present we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one single *lemon*. For the *Jacobites*, before the death of that immortal prince, had, by a superstition, formed a private prayer, that as they *squeezed* the *orange*, so might that *protestant* king be *squeezed* to death; according to the known *sorcery* described by Virgil;

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, &c.

And

And thus the Romans, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer: *As I knock down this ox, so may'st thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies.* In like manner, after king William's death, whenever a *Jacobite squeezed* an *orange*, he had a mental curse upon the *glorious memory*, and a hearty wish for power to *squeeze* all his majesty's friends to death, as he *squeezed* that *orange*, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an *oath of secrecy*, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* set of men, who never scruple to drink CONFUSION to all *true protestants* under the name of *whig?* A most unchristian and inhuman practice; *which to our great honour and comfort was* never *charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.*

The sign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hand supporting a *crown*, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter) those *angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the *Jacobite*, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries;* moſt of which we have borrowed from London. I ſhall conſider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in *popery*, *ſlavery*, and *arbitrary power*, by defeating the *proteſtant* ſucceſſion, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in juſtice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *revolution*, all perſons who poſſeſſed any employment or office, in church or ſtate, were obliged by act of parliament to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary: and a great number of diſaffected perſons refuſing to take the ſaid oaths, from a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, but really from a ſpirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the ſwearing to thoſe princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence of ſelling fiſh, to go through the ſtreets with ſieves on their heads, and cry, *buy my ſoul*, *buy my ſoul;* plainly inſinuating, that all thoſe, who ſwore to king William, were juſt ready to ſell their *ſouls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen Anne, and, I hear, ſtill continues in London with much offence to all *true proteſtants;* but to our great happineſs, ſeems to be almoſt dropt in Dublin.

But becauſe I altogether contemn the diſpleaſure

ſure and reſentment of *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worſe even than profeſt papiſts*, I do here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going to mention, were all brought in upon us in the *worſt of times*, under the late earl of Oxford's adminiſtration, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign. *That wicked miniſter was univerſally known to be a papiſt in his heart* *. *He was of a moſt avaricious nature, and is ſaid to have died worth four millions* ſterl. *beſides his vaſt expence in building, ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other coſtly rarities. He was of a mean obſcure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and ſo illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; becauſe I deſire not to rake into the aſhes of the dead: and therefore, I ſhall obſerve this wiſe maxim*, De mortuis nil niſi bonum.

This flagitious man, in order to compaſs his black deſigns, employed certain wicked inſtruments (which great ſtateſmen are never without) to adapt ſeveral London cries, in ſuch a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And, whereas it was, upon good grounds, grievouſly ſuſpected, that all *places* at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; certain women were employed by his emiſſaries, to carry *fiſh* in baſkets on their heads, and bawl through the ſtreets, *buy my freſh places*. I muſt indeed own, that other women uſed the ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign,

* The author's meaning is juſt contrary to the literal ſenſe in the character of Lord Oxford. *Hawkeſ.*

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sign, and really sold fish of that denomination, to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the *secret*, although they carried *fish* in their sieves or baskets, to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the *free-masons*, which the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And, I remember very well, how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely dressed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the lord-treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried *buy my fresh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe, that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England, for admitting his eldest son by the dutchess of Orleans' daughter, to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn *protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *royal* house of Hanover, were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the *Jacobite* leaders, to cry through the whole town, *buy my* Savoys, *dainty* Savoys, *curious* Savoys. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of Oxford with this *conspiracy*, because he was

not

not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power, was to sell Flanders to France: the consequence of which must have been, the infallible ruin of the States-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must, next after Holland, have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *Jacobite* grandees, with the earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call Flanders, is, in its true orthography, spelt *flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence

hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since ſtunned the ears of all London, made ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; *come buy my freſh* flaunders, *curious* flaunders, *charming* flaunders, *alive, alive, ho;* which laſt words can, with no propriety of ſpeech, be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead, (as I obſerved before in *herrings* and *ſalmon*) but very juſtly to ten provinces, containing many millions of living *Chriſtians*. But the application is ſtill cloſer, when we conſider, that all the people were to be taken like *fiſhes* in a net; and by aſſiſtance of the *pope*, who ſets up to be the *univerſal fiſher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myſelf, a particular crier of *flounders* in London, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in thoſe days ſo fully apprized of the deſigns, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet I know not how, by a ſecret impulſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ſtrong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf, *This cry ſeems to be forged in the* Jeſuits *ſchool: alas, poor* England! *I am grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome* popiſh *plot at the bottom*. I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too viſionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved

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proved afterwards that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot, is, to our great felicity, wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the British house of commons, in the last years of queen Anne's reign, were, in their hearts, directly opposite to the earl of Oxford's pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as was proved before justice * Peyton) to cry that vegetable commonly called *sellery* through the town. These women differ from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *sellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not, at this present, the least occasion to

* A famous whig justice in those times.

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suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is, indeed, of all others, the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities; for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself, to profess their disapprobation of this cry, on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procuresses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove, by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out *turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would sometimes add the *two* following *verses*:

Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
Turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which, indeed, ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind, to be deluded,

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ed, at this time of day, with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan, so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence, by Sir Henry Dutton Colt, and colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-house, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind, to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy revolution, used a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *We hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king* TURN UP *trump*; and, *when shall we meet over a dish of* TURNUPS? The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word *turnup*; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular manner, by fellows in disguise, to give notice where those traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villanous designs.

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I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble proposal, that those, who cry this root at present in our streets of Dublin, may be compelled by the justices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*: for, I am afraid, we have still too many snakes in our bosom; and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the *worst of times*, under the ministry of that desperate statesman, Robert late earl of Oxford; and for that very reason, ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treason*; or, if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of *true protestants*, who have given security to the government.

A LETTER

A LETTER from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST. †

Written in the year 1708.*

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the strange representations made of us on your side of the water. The instance you are pleased to mention, is that of the *presbyterian missionary*,

† In the 1st volume of Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Miscellanies, I found the following treatise, which had been printed in London, with some other of the Dean's works, many years before, but at first came out by itself in the year 1708, as the date shews: and it was at a juncture, when the dissenters were endeavouring to repeal the sacramental test, as, by common fame, and some pamphlets published to the same purpose, they seem to be now again attempting, with great hope of success. I have therefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that discourse, omitting only some passages, which relate to certain persons, and are of no consequence to the argument. But the author's way of reasoning seems at present to have more weight, than it had in those times, when the discourse first appeared.—— The author, in this letter, personates a member of parliament here, to a member of parliament in England.——The speaker, mentioned in this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and Lord Middleton; and the prelate was Dr. Lindsay, afterwards Primate.

* This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the sacramental test was revived. There was an explanatory advertisement prefixed, which is said by Lord Orre-

ſionary, who, according to your phraſe, hath been lately *perſecuted* at Drogheda for his religion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome people have been, for three or four years paſt, to hand about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the number and the power of the *preſbyterians* in Ireland, to raiſe formidable ideas of the danger of *popery* there, and to tranſmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted, with comments, in thoſe infamous weekly papers, that inſeſt your coffee-houſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a *ſacramental teſt* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the juſtices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen,

ry to have been dictated, or ſtrictly reviſed by the Dean himſelf: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought ſufficient to deſtroy its authenticity: that which, in the firſt paragraph, is called the *following treatiſe*, is afterwards ſaid to be an *extract of a diſcourſe;* and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence: theſe are included in a parentheſis. *Hawkeſ.*

Swift held the diſſenters in the utmoſt degree of ridicule and deteſtation. He had an openneſs in his diſpoſition, and a frankneſs in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reſerve.——To ſuch a diſpoſition it is impoſſible that the gravity of nonconformiſts could be agreeable. The diſlike was mutual on both ſides. Dr. Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr. Swift. This piece is particularly written againſt *repealing the teſt act;* and whoever conſiders himſelf related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it ſome arguments of weight and conſideration, in caſe any ſuch repeal ſhould ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

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thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune and understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his excellency, by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a-murthering the protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scribblers. In like manner, the account of that person, who was lately expelled our university for reflecting on the memory of king William; what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced, till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this story of the *persecution* at Drogheda, how it hath been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpretation; but sufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *first*, by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to shew the miserable state of the *dissenters* in Ireland, by reason of the *sacramental test*, and to desire the queen's intercession, that it might be

be repealed. *Then*, it is manifest, that * our speaker, when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses, to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men against the injustice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not consent. And, *lastly*, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the *sacramental test*, and the absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such trifles, as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would choose the vilest and most ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *some men* would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understandings of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffee-house furniture, and, some time or other, may happen to be read by customers of all ranks, for curiosity and amusement,

* Mr. Allan Broderick, afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

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ment, because they ly always in the way. One of these authors (the fellow that was *pilloried*, I have * forgot his name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the † *observator* is much the brisker of the two, and I think further gone of late in lies and impudence than his *presbyterian* brother. [The reason why I mention him, is to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us as we did with you in a parallel case: last year a paper was brought here from England, called, *A dialogue between the archbishop of* Canterbury *and* Mr. Higgins, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his grace ‡ of Canterbury, than you have with the archbishop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by that paltry rascal of an *observator*; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the *missionary* of Drogheda,

* The fellow that was pilloried, was Daniel Defoe, whose name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumstance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it shews great art in the nicest touches of satire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the rattlesnake, distinguish themselves more venomously dangerous, than the wound of a common serpent. *Orrery.*

He was pilloried for a tract called, *The shortest way with the dissenters.*

† Mr. John Tutchin. ‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison.

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Drogheda, wherein our excellent *primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Archbishop ‖ of Dublin hath been, upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services, he was by the late king promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king, as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the protestant line, and for ever excluding the *pretender*; and though a firm friend to the church, yet wish indulgence towards dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect; yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice

‖ Dr. William King.

practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the *observator*, or such as employ him.]

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the *sacramental test*: only, whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprised at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interest in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some suspicion; and though in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly *for our good*, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced, by mere conjecture, to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the *sacramental test*: one is, because you are said

ſaid to imagine it will be a ſtep towards the like *good work in* England: the other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding *ſeveral perſons*, who have well deſerved upon a *great occaſion*, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, eſpecially Engliſh: but I remember there is in ſome of Mr. Cowley's love verſes, a ſtrain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by Ireland,

Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves, by repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly; it is the beſt argument you can uſe; for we value your intereſt much more than our own: if your little finger be ſore, and you think a poultice made of our *vitals* will give it any eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the intereſt of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt *fiſhing towns:* it is hard you will not accept our ſervices, unleſs we believe, at the ſame time, that that you are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, becauſe you are a man of quality, and apprehend ſome danger to a *corner of your ſtable;* yet, why ſhould you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my

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my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves, we had abundance of benefit by the *ſacramental teſt*, and foreſee a number of miſchiefs would be the conſequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made againſt it by the *diſſenters* are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully they engaged for the ſafety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that, for the future, they ſhall ſit down quietly, and let us do our work ourſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up arms, under the penalty of high treaſon.

Now, ſuppoſing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the * *fly on the wheel*, I thought *liberty*, *property*, and *religion*, had been the three ſubjects of the quarrel; and have not all theſe been amply ſecured to them? had they, at that time, a *mental reſervation* for *power* and *employments?* and, muſt theſe two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among ſome men, to melt down the phraſe of a *church eſtabliſhed by law*, into that of

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having ſettled on the ſpoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot that was driven rapidly along the road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, "*What a duſt we raiſe!*"

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the *religion of the magistrate;* of which appellation, it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the *magistrate* they mean the *prince*, [the expression includes a falshood; for, when king James was *prince*] the established church was the same it is now. If, by the same word, they mean the legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing, by the same law to give a *toleration* to dissenters; but if once we repeal our *sacramental test*, and grant a *toleration*, or suspend the execution of the penal laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches, as there are sects of dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public: but *that*, I suppose, will be of no long duration; and it would be very unjust it should; because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable, that revenues should be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no free-born subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. *But why should any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of serving his queen and country!* their zeal is commendable; and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they shall be sure to have the refusal, only upon condi-

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tion they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include *Atheists*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Heretics*; or, which is still more dangerous, even *papists* themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the *pope*'s power in France is but a shadow; so that, upon this foot, there need be no great danger to the constitution, by admitting *papists* to employments. I will help you to enow of them shall be ready to allow the *pope* as little power here as you please; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ, is but a *speculative point*, for which no man, it seems, ought to be deprived the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same *sacramental test*. It is, that we are verily persuaded, the consequence will be, an entire alteration of religion among us, in no great compass of years. And pray, observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an *undisturbed* affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the soil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Lochaber, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales

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of Down and Antrim, ſo productive of that *grain*, which, at little trouble, and leſs expence, finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one another, ſoon grow into wealth from the *ſmalleſt beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture;* but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimilate*, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. I have done all in my power, on ſome land of my own, to preſerve two or three Engliſh fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, though one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his court, by turning preſbyterian. Add to this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a moſt formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that ſpirit, which taught them to aboliſh epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very conſiderable number in the houſe of commons, and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their ſeveral ſtations; therefore when the teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe, who have much *greater ſervices* to plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of; and the collectors

and

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and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commiſſioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be ſaid of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let diſſenters into the commiſſions of the peace, to make them high-ſheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their induſtry and our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the houſe of commons, and conſequently make themſelves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the preſbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great in number in the houſe of lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be aboliſhed. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare ſwear our ſpeaker here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at *one of them* ſo lately. To convince you, that this deſign is not ſo foreign from *ſome people's* thoughts, I muſt let you know, that an honeſt *bell weather* * of our houſe (you have him now in England, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence ſome years ago, in parliament-time, to ſhake my

* Suppoſed to be Mr. Broderick.

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lord bishop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, *that he hoped to live to see the day, when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

These last lines perhaps you think a digression: therefore, to return, I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *sacramental test*; which, although the greatest number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any *church*, or no; yet because they pretend to argue from conscience, as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in answer to your question, whether, if any attempt should be made here for repealing the *sacramental test*, it would be likely to succeed? The number of professed dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen; and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the presbyterian party having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my lord ‡ Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *test clause*, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced *whigs* upon all other occasions,

† Dr. Lindsay, afterwards lord primate.

‡ Then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

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occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of *whig* and *tory* do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an *indulgence* for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a *whig*: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of *moderate whigs*, and on the other of *presbyterians* and their *abettors*; by which last, I mean such, who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy: these last are a set of men not of our own growth; their principles at least have been

been *imported* of late years: yet this whole party put together, will ſcarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of lords, the difficulty there, is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the *teſt*; and yet their lordſhips are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful motives* might be uſed for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the *teſt*, though they are entirely devoted to her majeſty; and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to *other folks refinements*; for we generally love and eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the preſent

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affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt perſons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the intereſt of the kingdom: becauſe the act, which repeals the *teſt*, will only qualify a *layman* for an employment, but not a *preſbyterian* or *anabaptiſt* preacher for a church living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any diſtinction, and deſired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a moſt wonderful agreement, there being but *one divine* that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary ſentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, though, as he hoped, very much to his *intereſt*.

I will now conſider a little the arguments offered to ſhew the advantages, or rather the neceſſity of repealing the *teſt* in Ireland. We are told, the popiſh intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all hands ſhould be joined to keep it under; that the only names of diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of *proteſtant* and *papiſt*; and that this expedient is the only means to *unite* all proteſtants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but miſrepreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of the papiſts in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with

others,

others, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers: but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more: and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away; to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then, the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any considerable numbers with an *invader*, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them *, had been trained for some years under a *popish deputy*, and received such mighty aids from the French king.

As to that argument used for repealing the *test*, that it will unite all protestants against the *common*

* In the reign of king James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

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mon enemy; I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it. Suppose, in order to encrease the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate: do you think that would much advance the union between us? or suppose I share my fortune equally between my own *children* and a *stranger*, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a *majority* of part of their antient right, by conferring it on a *faction*, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some people may stretch the term of *common enemy*. How many are there of those that call themselves protestants, who look upon our worship to be idolatrous as well as that of the papists, and with great charity put *prelacy* and *popery* together as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one small doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the *test*; that is, whether these same *protestants*, when they have by their dexterity made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their *pastors* or *themselves*, will be so kind to allow *us dissenters*, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare *toleration* by law? The reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol *toleration*, some

ſome of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag of popery*, and all agreeing it was to *eſtabliſh iniquity by a law*. Now I would be glad to know, when and where *their ſucceſſors* have renounced this doctrine, and before what witneſſes. Becauſe, methinks I ſhould be loath to ſee my poor titular biſhop *in partibus* ſeized on by miſtake in the dark for a jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to keep a chaplain diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe times, when the church of England was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; popery is now the *common enemy*, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in hiſtory with the perpetual folly of thoſe ſtates, who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a *common enemy*: but the miſchief was, theſe *allies* would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite ſubdued. And they had reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one part of the common enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the *allies* became at length the *maſters*.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a *lion* is a larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous enemy than a *cat*; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a *lion* at his foot, bound faſt with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry *cat* in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonderful ſignificancy

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ſignificancy of that word *perſecution*, and what various interpretations it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the preſbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to ſerve God in their own way; they ſaid they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably, ought to have liberty of conſcience, and leave to aſſemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the *ſacramental teſt*, and began to take very large ſteps, wherein all who offered to oppoſe them, were called men of a *perſecuting ſpirit*. During the time the bill againſt occaſional conformity was on foot, *perſecution* was every day rung in our ears, and now at laſt the *ſacramental teſt* itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one requeſt is only uſed as a ſtep to demand another? A lover is ever complaining of *cruelty*, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceaſes to be *cruel*, ſhe is from the next moment at his mercy: ſo *perſecution*, it ſeems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to *perſecute others*.

There is one argument offered againſt a *ſacramental teſt* by a ſort of men, who are content to be ſtiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its ſervice in the morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good doctrine in both. Theſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an

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institution, as that of the Lord's Supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like christians (especially those who are to have employments) did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a-year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the public, that such, who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, *lest we should offend them*, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us: for if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with episcopacy, *and so forth;* and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true to the kirk.* But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument; urge the hardship, that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their queen and country on account of their conscience: and, in short, have recourse to the common stile of their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour, somewhat parallel to the foregoing. It seems, by the test-clause, the *military* officers are obliged to receive the

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the ſacrament, as well as the *civil*. And it is a matter of ſome patience, to hear the diſſenters declaiming upon this occaſion: they cry they are *diſarmed*, they are uſed like papiſts: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condition! woful dilemma! It is happy for us all, that the pretender was not appriſed of this *paſſive preſbyterian* principle, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our *northern* parts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes, to appeaſe their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a caſe the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending it againſt the letter of the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all *popiſh* inſurrections at home, or *popiſh* invaſions from abroad, the government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to all proteſtants whatſoever, without that *perſecuting* circumſtance of obliging them to *ſay their prayers* when they receive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of *occaſional* commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather loſe

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their eſtates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of *governing*.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion. If the diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a *toleration* by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make a mighty difference here, between ſuffering *thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *poſies*. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that *we* ſhall always *tolerate them*; but not quite ſo fully, that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſhould at ſome time or other enable the preſbyterians to work themſelves up into the national church; inſtead of *uniting* proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among them. First, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at cuffs *again* with each other about power and preferment; and the *diſſenting epiſcopals*, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a degree, as, upon ſome *fair unhappy* occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither

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Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome late proceedings, at what a rate this *faction* is like to drive, where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *ſeat*. They have already ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they ſend *miſſionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to convert the *church of* England folks to *chriſtianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend perſons on their death-beds, and for purpoſes much alike. And what practices ſuch principles as theſe (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may ſpawn, when they are *laid out to the ſun*, you may determine at leiſure.

Laſtly, Whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their loyalty upon the preſent foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a queſtion, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of diſſenters: but the inſtance produced, is of ſome among their leading teachers in the north, who having refuſed the *abjuration oath*, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and, I believe, hath been publiſhed; I think it a pity, it hath not been *remedied*.

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houſes here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect, SIR, Your, &c.

Dublin, Dec. 4. 1708.

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Some ARGUMENTS against enlarging the power of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mihi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt. Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1725.

IN handling this subject, I shall proceed wholly upon this supposition, that those of *our party*, who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present: because, as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons, who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered

* This pamphlet is interspersed with those masterly strokes of irony, which are so often intermixed in Swift's works. The general subject of it leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the Dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

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livered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be now near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, besides the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other lands by the confusion of times, the fraud of encroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation, many *popish* bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected, if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed, directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means, episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four sees were often united, to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil, king James I. by a bounty that became a good Christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the *northern* bishoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom, the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles Ist's reign, the legislature

legiſlature here thought fit to put a ſtop at leaſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was enacted, prohibiting all biſhops and other eccleſiaſtical corporations from ſetting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the real value of ſuch lands, at the time they were ſet, without which condition the leaſe to be void.

Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but, by what accidents, it is not here of any importance to relate.

This, at preſent, is the condition of the church in Ireland, with regard to epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced, for ſome information to thoſe, whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch conſiderations.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under king Charles I. limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 l.

per

per annum; the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and believe many perſons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands, are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are, long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean, *the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver.* I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds, with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt: I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts

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parts in five of the plantations, for 30 years past, have been real disimprovements; nine in ten of the quickset-hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to the forest-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate, by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath, indeed, been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country, by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust*, why should those, who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people,

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ple, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver.*

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history, above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an *obolus*, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the encrease of bullion in the world, by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy, the riches of the *east* and *west*.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way, without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the *northern* people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried, to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained, was carried off by those ravagers.

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It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkiſh and other writers ſince the conqueſt, have put that matter in a clearer light, by the ſeveral accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thouſand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the ſteward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the ſeveral prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my obſervations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years paſt. Henry duke of Lancaſter, who lived about that period, founded an hoſpital in Leiceſter, for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In thoſe times, a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny, and ſomewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain alſo from the old cuſtom upon many eſtates in England to let for leaſes of lives, (renewable at pleaſure) where the reſerved rent is uſually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three ſhillings in the pound of the worth of

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of this land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that, if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt, by the experience of above ten thousand pounds loss.

The gradual decrease, for about two hundred years after, was not considerable; and therefore I do dot rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry the seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for although the West-Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting of money, ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian (whom he resembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days, the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir —— Cockain of Derbyshire, the best house-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality, who had seen the original account of his œconomy. Now, this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at present, or somewhat more than four *fifths*.

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The great plenty of ſilver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vaſt quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coaſts, or in their return to Spain. However, ſo much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and moſt parts of Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace of one hundred years, notwithſtanding the great export of ſilver for about eighty years paſt to the Eaſt-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the ſame accident, and by new diſcoveries grown every day more plentiful, ſeems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progreſs of the value of money in former ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue ſo for the future, without ſome new invaſion of Goths and Vandals to deſtroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject, is intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our *own party*, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it ſhould continue in a tolerable degree of proſperity to the end of the world.

The church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever, both in its diſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe obſerve the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's eſtate, which now yields him a thouſand

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thousand pounds a year, had been set for ever at the highest value, even in the flourishing days of king Charles the second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that sum? which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsic value,

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which gold and ſilver are not: and by this invention, theſe colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence for their fellows and ſtudents to this day.

The preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſufferers by ſuch a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of money; or at worſt they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking ſuch advantages (conſidering the nature of human kind) when the queſtion is only, whether the money ſhall be put into their own, or another man's pocket: ſo they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they do not, to their death, oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt any ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the weakneſs or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry for purchaſing of more: but the church is barred by a *dead hand*; or, if it were otherwiſe, yet the cuſtom of making bequeſts to it, hath been out of practice for almoſt two hundred years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been its fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, to whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome other facts already related, that the

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the late † bishop of Salisbury (the greatest *whig* of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in England have of letting leases for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in *a nation of freedom*, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer, as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishoprics here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief

 governor,

† Dr. Burnet.

governor, who can never fail of ſome worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench, in an age or two, be compoſed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſuppliants and dependents upon the *court* for a morſel of bread, and ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tacked to their ſees; which muſt then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great diſcouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years ſince the paſſing of that limiting act, and there is but one inſtance in the memory of man, of a biſhop's leaſe broken, upon the plea of not being ſtatutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been loſt by no other perſon than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the preſent ‡ biſhop of Meath's caſe, that plea did not avail, although the leaſe were notoriouſly unſtatutable; the rent reſerved, being, as I have been told, not a ſeventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, *very gravely* found it to be according to the ſtatute; and one of them was heard to ſay, that he would *eat his ſhoes*, before he would give a verdict for the biſhop. A very few more have made the ſame attempt, with as little ſucceſs. Every biſhop and other eccleſiaſtical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reaſonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it ſeldom

‡ Dr. Evans, a Welſhman.

ſeldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts leſs than the worth, the biſhop, if he conſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate; and the tenant, if he be an honeſt man, will have ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the demand, ſo as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity are directly againſt him. By theſe means, the biſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to procure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thouſand pounds a year in the hands of a proteſtant biſhop, any more than of a lay perſon *. The former, generally ſpeaking, liveth as piouſly and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or, if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants, generally ſpeaking, have others under them, and ſo a third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the *welder*

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when ſeveral of queen Anne's biſhops were living.

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der (as they call him) who ſits at a rack-rent, and lives as miſerable as an Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaricious, (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men) the conſequence to the public is no worſe than if he were a 'ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the public, in a proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a *biſhop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality: his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England: he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppoſe him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it muſt be allowed, that ſome biſhops of this kingdom, within twenty years paſt, have done very ſignal and laſting acts of public charity; great inſtances whereof are the * late and † preſent primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbiſhop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the biſhop of § Raphoe, and ſeveral others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who beſtowed one

* Dr. Marſh. † Dr. Lindſay. ‡ Dr. King. § Dr. Foſter.

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one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation (that I may observe by the way) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statute for commons, being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords, to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed, of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the public as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great 'squires, who in reason were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a subserviency,

ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: My anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having his farm ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, *The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries;* full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kind of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majeſty

king

king GEORGE and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the *Pretender*, and all *popiſh ſucceſſors*; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king WILLIAM, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from *popery* and *ſlavery* with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *diſſenters*, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of *me* as a WHIG, and that my political catechiſm is full and complete. But whoever, under the ſhelter of that party denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loyalty, would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure the church eſtabliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he ought to chooſe another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adherents. I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which, by the grace of God, I mean to preſerve as long as I live. Shall we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.* The *Tories* and *Jacobites* will behold us, with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin of our *friends*. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almoſt entirely of that number, as well as the great majority of the principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine what I have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold *queries* in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which*

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which that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable grievance*, that an *ecclesiastical* landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is *at least* as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been thrown into confusion?* And have *many poor families been ruined* by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *the nation cry out* to have a law that must in time send their bishops a-begging? But God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church, is not yet the *cry*, and I hope will never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain them*, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those, who are for preserving the happy *constitution* in *church* and *state*. Whoever were the proposers of such *queries*, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by shewing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops *at least* are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the *episcopal* rent-roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their rents than they do

do now? Or, would the money be equally ſpent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be ſcrewed up to the utmoſt penny by the agents and ſtewards of *abſentees*, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole *income* of Ireland is annually returned, to anſwer that ſingle *article* of *maintenance* for Iriſh landlords.

Another of his quarrels is againſt *pluralities* and *non-reſidence*: as to the former, it is a word of ill-name, but not well underſtood. The clergy having been ſtripped of the greateſt part of their revenues, the *glebes* being generally loſt, the *tythes* in the hands of laymen, the churches demoliſhed, and the country depopulated; in order to preſerve a face of *chriſtianity*, it was neceſſary to unite ſmall *vicarages* ſufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a *miniſter*. The profit of ten or a dozen of theſe *unions* ſeldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few *dignitaries*, whoſe preferments are perhaps more liable to this accuſation, it is to be ſuppoſed, they may be *favourites of the time*; or perſons of *ſuperior* merit, for whom there hath ever been ſome indulgence in all governments.

As to *non-reſidence*, I believe there is no chriſtian country upon earth, where the clergy have leſs to anſwer for upon that *article*. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly ſpeaking, can be termed *non-reſidents*; for ſurely we are not to reckon in that

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number those, who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a *cabin* to put their heads in; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *minister* with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the *difficulties* the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to *me*, how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addressed to the house of commons an excellent discourse for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of most useful *hints*, which I hope that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am not a stranger to his lordship; and, excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of *tythes* upon the *clergy* and their *proctors*. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer hath all manner of advantages against the most *powerful* clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *minister* were ever so evil disposed; the whole system of *teazing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *master*, being as well known to every *ploughman*, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish must

* The late Lord Molesworth.

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muſt have his *tythes* at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many ſkilful obſervers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the *biſhops-court*, I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their juſt *dues* by a more *ſhort*, *deciſive*, and *compulſive* method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction will allow.

His lordſhip is not the only perſon diſpoſed to give the clergy the honour of being the *ſole* encouragers of all new improvements. If *hops*, *hemp*, *flax*, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* muſt reward the induſtrious farmer by abatement of the *tythe*. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would pleaſe to abate proportionally in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man juſt dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable?

I believe no man will diſpute his lordſhip's title to his eſtate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tythes*, which he mentions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame reaſon that a *maxim* in *law* hath more weight in the world, than an *article* of *faith*. And yet I think there may be ſuch a thing as *ſacrilege*; becauſe it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman au-

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thors, as well as described in *holy writ*. This I am sure of; that his lordship would at any time excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his lordship's discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law impowering the bishops to set *fee-farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates, that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church.* Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law, that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli, For the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church, and persons ecclesiastical*: which was grounded upon reasons, that do still, and must for ever subsist.

Oct. 21. 1723.

The

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

Written in the year 1731. *

WE have been told in the common news-papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the *presbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the teſt; as a kind preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *papiſts*, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a human creature †.

The

* See a letter on the ſubject, P. 209, of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the ſame occaſion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and ſpirit, by ſaying,——" We have been told in the common news-" papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the " *preſbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the teſt; as a " kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in " England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *papiſts*, " delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about " it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſ-" creet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a *dog*, be-" fore he preſcribes it to a human creature."——I have quoted this ſhort paſſage for the ſtyle, as well as the matter; and I dare ſay, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general obſervation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions, with a juſtneſs particularly delicate and exact, and without the leaſt ſtiffneſs or affectation. I have formerly men-

The *presbyterians* have, ever ſince the revolution, directed their learned caſuiſts to employ their pens on this ſubject, by ſhewing the merits and pretenſions, upon which they claim this *juſtice*, as founded upon the ſervices they did towards the reſtoration of king Charles the ſecond, and at the *revolution* under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the moſt ſingular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the ſun againſt the moſt glaring lights of truth, and againſt a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I ſhall therefore, impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *preſbyterians* upon thoſe two great events; and the pretenſions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward the ſixth, upon queen Mary's ſucceeding to the crown (who reſtored *popery*) many *proteſtants* fled out of England to eſcape the perſecution raiſed againſt the church, as her brother had left it eſtabliſhed. Some of theſe exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of biſhops; with many other refinements. Theſe Engliſh exiles readily embraced the Geneva ſyſtem; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death

tioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Diſſenters, eſpecially the preſbyterians [above, p. 210.] and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the ſame ſubject. *Orrery.*——And ſo it is placed in this edition.

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death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against *episcopacy*, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and antient in the church: building upon this foundation; to run as far as possible from *popery*, even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of *puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of king James the first, many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and several others. And although the Earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design towards making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion,

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rebellion, or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifest, that *puritanism* did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion, till some time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of king James the first, and the former part of his son, there were several *puritan* bishops, and many *puritan* private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches; for the *puritan* clergy had received episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *presbyterian* succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period, the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after, we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament, as well as the army, under the name of *independent:* it spread, indeed, somewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the *presbyterians*, either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London, they reported his majesty's answer

ſwer in the houſe. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow ſays, had ſecured their own terms with that prince, managed with ſo much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin houſe for paſſing a vote, That *the king's conceſſions were a ground for a future ſettlement.* But the great officers of the army joining with the diſcontented members, came to a reſolution of excluding all thoſe who had conſented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid *preſbyterian*, of this reſolution; who thereupon iſſued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Weſtminſter-hall, the *court of requeſts*, and the *lobby*; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with thoſe members who had oppoſed the vote, would let no member enter the houſe, except thoſe of their own party. Upon which the queſtion for bringing the king to juſtice, was immediately put, and carried without oppoſition, that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himſelf was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined ſitting among them. However, by freſh orders under his own hand, which I have ſeen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewiſe to prevent any oppoſition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifeſt,

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manifeſt, that the differences between theſe two ſects, *preſbyterian* and *independent*, did not then amount to half ſo much as what there is between a *whig* and *tory* at preſent among us. The deſign of utterly extirpating monarchy and epiſcopacy, was equally the ſame in both; evidently the conſequence of the very ſame principles, upon which the *preſbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the ſame events; if, towards the concluſion, they had not been beardeed by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the ſpoil. However, they held a good ſhare of civil and military employments during the whole time of the uſurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of thoſe times: For, I make no doubt, that all the prudent *preſbyterians* complied, in proper ſeaſons falling in with the ſtream; and thereby got that ſhare in employments, which many of them held till the reſtoration, and perhaps, too many of them after. In the ſame manner, we find our wiſeſt *tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and meaſures at the queen's death, have endeavoured, for ſeveral years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had loſt by a temporary obſtinacy; wherein they have well ſucceeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whoſe names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modeſty. As to what is alledged, that ſome of the *preſbyterians* declared openly againſt the king's murder; I allow it to be

true.

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true. But, from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spite, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant spawn of *independents* sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But, wherever interest or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other; for we see at this day, that the *tories* are more hated by the whole set of zealous *whigs*, than the very *papists* themselves; and, in effect, as much unqualified for the smallest office; although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion, in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same *protestant* king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *independent* party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their *presbyterian* brethren, he may please to observe, that, during the whole usurpation, they contended, by degrees, with their parent sect, and, as I have already said, shared in employments; and gradually, after the restoration, mingled with the mass of *presbyterians;* lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of *dissenters*.

The *presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themselves instrumental towards the king's restoration. The kingdom grew tired

tired with those ridiculous models of government; first by a house of lords and commons, without a king; then without bishops; afterwards by a rump * and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his son Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy, much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of Brentford; † the people harassed with taxes, and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *rump* assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them: the city of London, exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The *rump*, after many deaths and resurrections, was, in the most contemptuous manner, kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkes.*

† In the Rehearsal. *Hawkes.*

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excluded members were let in; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king restored.

The second claim of *presbyterian* merit, is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king James the Second; while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce *popery*, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown: to this they add their eminent services at the revolution under the prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of *presbyterian* merit, during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-advised prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed, by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets and public papers, printed in those times, and some afterwards; besides the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the *dissenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the second's death, soon after his successor had publicly owned himself a Roman *catholic*, he began with his first caresses to the church party; from whom having received very cold, discouraging answers, he applied to the *presbyterian* leaders and teachers: being advised by his priests and *popish* courtiers, that the safest method towards introducing his own religion, would be by taking off the *sacramental test*, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, (I suppose that professed

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christianity.) It seems that the *presbyterians* in the later years of king Charles the second, upon account of certain plots (allowed by bishop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a short time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable Christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgements for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the *papists* upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the stile of *our brethren the Roman catholics*. About this time began the project of *closeting* (which hath since been practised many times with more art and success) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty, to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the *sacramental test*, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that, despairing of success, he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred several *presbyterians*, and many *papists*, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that monsieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of Orange concerning

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cerning the repeal of the *test*; whereof the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, *that their highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church.* This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those, whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices, have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king James received of an intended invasion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of *papists* to increase his troops he gave commissions to several *presbyterians*; some of whom had been officers under the *rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted *presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the prince of Orange: the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *presbyterian* as his father. However,

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at the time of the prince's landing, the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over like many others to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to assist in raising the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament; but, encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his *presbyterian* friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against *popery*, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But upon the strictest enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the *presbyterians*, at that time, upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, for not suspending Dr. Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of York) by the king's command. If the *presbyterians* expressed the same zeal upon any occasion,

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ſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen *college* in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a profeſſed *papiſt* upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhown by that learned ſociety, to the ruin of their fortunes. The *preſbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough, in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, the *presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king having been originally bred a Calviniſt, was deſirous enough to make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politics; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *presbyterians* wiſely choſe to join with the *proteſtant* army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom,

divided against itself, could never prevail against the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their estates and religion: which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we: and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *protestant* army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a *popish* enemy under an abdicated king, is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread, of an invasion threatened by the *pretender* on the north of Ireland. At which time the *presbyterians* in their phamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of the dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and *let us fight our own battles*; since they were to reap no advantage, which ever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the *pretender* and his army to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because

because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they sufficiently shewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, That a Scottish or northern *presbyterian* hates our episcopal established church more than *popery* itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone, that stands in the way between them and power; which *popery* doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions, made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the *presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those reports; because, it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body; for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the *presbyterians*, by choosing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to *popery* in general, which, for a thousand years past, hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions

corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of Christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be much in danger from it. The estates of papists are very few; crumbling into parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance and cowardice, and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war. Some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again, for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against *popery* in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the *protestant* religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I do not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should, under the names of *high-flyers*, *Jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce *popery* and the *pretender*; while the *papists* abhor them above all other men, on account of severities against their

their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the *now disbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago, by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through; and, to my great satisfaction, found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George, for which they gave me the reasons above-mentioned: at the same time, complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the QUEEN's *last ministry*.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the *presbyterians* for a repeal of the *sacramental test*, as a reward for their merits at the *restoration* and the *revolution*; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who, I am sure, have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which, of all others, they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts with all possible impartiality, from the current histories of those times; and have shown, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries, under the denominations of *puritans*,

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tans, *presbyterians* and *independents*, for about the space of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this present time. But notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting and demanding (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates; who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as commoners: not to the house of commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatic times the *presbyterian* and *independent* commanders in the army, by military power, expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: lastly, not to the crown; which those very *saints*, destined *to rule the earth*, trampled under their feet, and then, in cold blood, murdered the blessed wearer.

But

But the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of diſſenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head-quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and ſupported by a general contribution, to ſolicit their eſtabliſhment, with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confeſſing, that if the *presbyterians* ſhould obtain their ends, I could not be ſorry to find them miſtaken in the point, which they have moſt at heart by the repeal of the *teſt*; I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh northern diſſenter, born on Iriſh ground have, that he ſhall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have ſaid will avail but little. I have the common excuſe of other men, when I think myſelf bound by all religious and civil ties, to diſcharge my conſcience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occaſion. It is true, the advocates for this ſcheme promiſe a new world, after this bleſſed work ſhall be completed; that all animoſity and faction muſt immediately drop; that the only diſtinction in this kingdom will then be of *papiſt* and *proteſtant*; for as to *whig* and *tory*, *high church* and *low church*, *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *court* and *country party*, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* intereſts, *diſſenters* and *conformiſts*, *new light* and *old light*, *Anabaptiſt* and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *Muggletonian*;

an; they will all meet, and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the sessions and assizes, on the bench, and in the revenues; and, upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the *papists*, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the *presbyterian* sect intends to use, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their *independent* rivals) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will, and must endeavour by all means which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion,

* The late Dr. TISDAL, who died June 1736.

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religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God, by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of *popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation;* and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St. Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are.* But what assurance will they please to give, that, when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat US DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the *saints?* Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books, expressly against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and, among the rest, one frequently insisted on, That allowing such a liberty, would be, to *establish iniquity by a law* *. Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and, I hear, have been quoted by the doctor abovementioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I

 ask,

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch presbyterian Eloquence.*

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ask, whether they would not be content to receive it, *after their own manner*, for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without *bending a knee;* for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles, is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receivin the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can, nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the *papists*. *But lest we should offend them*, I am ready to change this test for another; although I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test, were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted, That no man shall receive any employment, before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, *&c.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, that whoever offends, *&c.* shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all

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all public trust for ever. Otherwise, I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test, or freely confess, that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect, without any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king; which, however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where Calvinists, and some other reformers who rejected *episcopacy*, possess the supreme power; and these are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

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But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings, have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those, who have been always found the true and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of the test, were pleased to express their gratitude, by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the test must be delivered up by the very *superiors appointed to defend it*; the affair is already in effect at an end. What *secret* reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not enquire: *for, O my soul, come not thou into their* secret; *unto their* assembly, *mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in* Jacob, *and scatter them in* Israel.

The

The ADVANTAGES propoſed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially conſidered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this ſubject, muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of chriſtianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and ceremony, which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments beſtowed among thoſe, who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame eſtabliſhment.

This method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt liberty of conſcience of any chriſtian ſtate; and yet are never known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worſhip. As to their military men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a neceſſity of hiring foreign troops, of whatever religious denomination, upon every great emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time of peace.

This caution, therefore, of making one eſta-

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bliſhed faith, ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt reaſons; the miſtaken or affected zeal of obſtinacy and enthuſiaſm having produced ſuch a number of horrible deſtructive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For, whoever begins to think the national worſhip is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as he can: and a nation may poſſibly have an hundred different ſects, with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they muſt *obey God rather than man*; muſt *cry aloud and ſpare not*; muſt *lift up their voice like a trumpet*.

This was the very caſe of England during the fanatic times. And againſt all this, there ſeems to be no defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of doctrine and diſcipline; leaving the reſt to a bare liberty of conſcience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or ſenate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confuſion. Yet, whenever ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, although for the worſe; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God,

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God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken: for many laws in *popish* kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the *church*, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the English church, as *burthensome, dangerous, and contrary to holy scripture*; and that *presbytery, anabaptism, quakerism, independency, muggletonianism, brownism, familism*, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place, without question all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the public maintaining no other teachers not admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then, that the present system of religion were abolished; and *presbytery*, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship; their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the public charge, whether by stipends or tythes, and only the

the reſt of the ſame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reaſoning in what I have laid down, it ſhould ſeem that the project now in agitation for repealing the *teſt act*, and yet leaving the name of an eſtabliſhment to the preſent national church, is altogether inconſiſtent; and may admit of conſequences, which thoſe who are the moſt indifferent to any religion at all, are poſſibly not aware of.

I preſume, whenever the *teſt* ſhall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *diſſenters* (except *papiſts*) whoſe conſciences can ſuffer them to take the common oaths in ſuch caſes preſcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-ſtation in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciſe-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the firſt may be a *preſbyterian*, the ſecond a *free-will baptiſt*, and the third a *church-man*; the *lord chancellor* may be an *independent*; the revenues may be managed by ſeven commiſſioners of as many different ſects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the ſtrong probability, that the lawfulneſs of taking oaths may be *revealed* to the quakers, who then will ſtand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal ſubjects. It is obvious to imagine, under ſuch a motley adminiſtration of affairs, what a claſhing there will be

of

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of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that, how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop Burnet tells us, that the *presbyterians* in the fanatic times professed themselves to be above morality; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the *beggarly elements*; and accordingly, at this day, no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who in the storming of a town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than suffer a rape; yet still continued her trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that in my private judgement an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except *papists*) to enjoy employments, would be less pernicious

pernicious to the public, than a fair struggle between two contenders; because, in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together; which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But, however, I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the presbyterians, and those of the church *yet* established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side, by examining, which of the two is the better spiritual œconomy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution: but the question turns upon this point; when the presbyterians shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at least be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is, of compromising among themselves that important controversy about the old light and the new; which otherwise may after this establishment split them as wide as papist and protestant, whig

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whig and tory, or churchman and diſſenter; and conſequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels, it is of little moment, how few or ſmall the differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is only about power. Thus the zealous preſbyterians of the North are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed clergy, than from the Romiſh prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous worſhip, as diſguiſed papiſts, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reaſon; becauſe the clergy ſtand in their way, which the popiſh prieſts do not. Thus I am aſſured, that the quarrel between old and new light-men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other diſpute of the higheſt importance; and this, becauſe it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarraſs the preſbyterians after their eſtabliſhments, will be, how to adjuſt their claim of the *kirk's* independency on the civil power, with the conſtitution of this monarchy; a point ſo delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy, without the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion.

As to the preſbyterians allowing liberty of conſcience to thoſe of epiſcopal principles when their own *kirk* ſhall be predominant; their writers are ſo univerſally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reaſonable

reasonable churchman (who must then be a dissenter) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the presbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the test-act, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any farther scheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England, whatever religion they profess or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled, it must be the following: That those whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish, that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons, who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewise those persons, who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could

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could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themselves, turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary, will outweigh the loss by bad rents received out of lands in moneyless times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall, in their wisdom and piety, and love of the church, consent to this repeal of the *test*, I have not the least doubt, that the whole reverend body will chearfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have already found so many *amazing* instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will *(for some time)* be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our sects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *northern* parts, where there may be three *dissenters* to one *churchman*, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage, which the *dissenters* at present lie under, of a disability

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to receive church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the *test*. For the *dissenting* teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments, wherein they agree perfectly with the *popish* clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the *indelible character*, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *presbyterians* and *independents*, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern *presbyterian* teachers: so was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and several others whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason, why a painful *presbyterian* teacher, as soon as the *test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the spiritual office and stipend, a commission in the army or the civil list in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of *Christians*, which in effect disqualifies those, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of *popery*, many hundred years before the *reformation*, and wo-

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ven with the very inſtitution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the ſtipends of diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and the farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a people ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their principles. Every biſhop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can ſequeſter the profits for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a lapſe of half a year, the donation falls to the archbiſhop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleaſure. Therefore it would be no hardſhip for any clergyman *alive*, if (in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the number of ſectaries much exceeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of the diſſenting teacher, who hath ſo many ſouls to take care of; whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in thoſe hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, againſt which a remedy doth not ſo readily occur. For ſuppoſing the *teſt-act* repealed, and the diſſenters in conſequence fully qualified for all ſecular employments; the queſtion may ſtill be put, whether thoſe of Ireland will be often the perſons on whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is imagined, there may be * another *ſeminary* in view, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more eaſily contented with ſuch low offices; which ſome nearer neighbours

* Scotland.

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hardly think it worth ſtirring from their chimney-ſides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of thoſe who are ſkilled in the management of bees, that when they ſee a foreign ſwarm at ſome diſtance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, theſe artiſts have a trick to divert them into ſome neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they pleaſe. This I ſhould not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many ſuſpecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to ſee dangers afar off: to all which I can only ſay, that our native *presbyterians* muſt by pains and induſtry raiſe ſuch a fund of *merit*, as will anſwer to a birth ſix degrees more to the North. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as ſeveral of the eſtabliſhed church have compaſſed by indefatigable pains, I do not well ſee, how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *teſt*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be diſqualified in fact, as it will much increaſe the mortification, ſo it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wiſhers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have ſo long made, of being a loyal, *true proteſtant* people, perſecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their caſe, they muſt wait maturity of time; until they can, by prudent, gentle ſteps, make their faith become the religion eſtabliſhed in the nation: after which, I do not in the leaſt doubt, that they will take the moſt effectual methods to ſecure their power againſt

thoſe,

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thoſe, who muſt then be *diſſenters* in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from preſent times, and the diſpoſitions of *diſſenters*, who love to make a *thorough reformation*, the number and qualities will be very inconſiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt ſincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion to public wiſdom and power.

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QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a ſtate be not more inflamed by different views of intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the queſtion at this time, which of the two religions is worſe, *popery* or *fanaticiſm*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the ſame good will) is in the hopefulleſt condition to ruin the church?

Whether the ſectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papiſts*?

Whether the prevailing ſectaries could allow liberty of conſcience to *diſſenters*, without belying all their former practice, and almoſt all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thouſand Scotch preſbyterians are not full as virulent againſt the epiſcopal church, as they are againſt the *papiſts*; or as they would have us think the *papiſts* are againſt them?

Whether the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for allowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any perſons, who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from their own, into civil employments, although they *may* be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether

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Whether the *dissenters* ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the *test*, that the *dissenters* in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increase?

The great argument given by those, whom they call *low* churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to *dissenters* hath been, that by such indulgencies the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether, if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists be true, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those *low* church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to holy scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether

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Whether by neceſſary conſequences the ſeveral expedients among the ſectaries to conſtitute their teachers are not abſolutely null and void?

Whether the ſectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from biſhops?

Whether the biſhops and clergy will be content to give up epiſcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well ſubſiſt?

Whether that great tenderneſs towards ſectaries, which now ſo much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *popery*, or to that ſpirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Scepticiſm, and univerſal immorality, which all good men ſo much lament?

Granting *popery* to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the ſectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of theſe kingdoms, with allowance for the ſhort time which the ſectaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yeſterday*. The *papiſts*, in the time of king James II. uſed all endeavours to eſtabliſh their ſuperſtition, wherein they failed by the united power of Engliſh church-proteſtants with the prince of Orange's aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigotted *papiſts* had the leaſt deſign to oppoſe or murder the king, much leſs to aboliſh kingly government; nor was it their intereſt or inclination to attempt either.

On the other ſide, the Puritans, who had almoſt from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's ſide, joining with the Scotch enthuſiaſts in the time of king Charles the firſt, were the principal cauſe of the

the Iriſh *rebellion* and *maſſacre*, by diſtreſſing that prince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend over timely ſuccours. And after that pious prince had ſatisfied his parliament in every ſingle point to be complained of, the ſame ſectaries, by poiſoning the minds and affections of the people with the moſt falſe and wicked repreſentations of their king, were able, in the compaſs of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expence of many thouſand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church *root and branch*.

The account, therefore, ſtands thus: The *papiſts* aimed at one pernicious act, which was, to deſtroy the *proteſtant* religion; wherein, by God's mercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious king William, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions that could poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaken by God; which were, the murder of a moſt pious king, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet, in a ſolemn public manner, renounced any one of thoſe principles, upon which their predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of the epiſcopal church, during the courſe of that horrid rebellion, and the conſequences of it, until

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til the happy *restoration*, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the *papists* and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either side?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professeth himself a member of the church established, although, perhaps, with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the case) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candour of that expression, so frequent, of late, in sermons and pamphlets, of the *strength and number of the* papists *in* Ireland, can be justified? For, as to their number, however great, it is always magnified, in proportion to the zeal or politics of the speaker and writer; but, it is a gross imposition upon common reason, to terrify us with their strength. For *popery*, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough, from the consequences it hath to encrease the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topic for clamours of designing men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed *popish* interest

tereſt in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here, is daily dropping into *proteſtant* hands, by purchaſe or deſcent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts, will fall, with the cauſe of it, in half a generation, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The *papiſts* are wholly diſarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage, which they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow that trade; and wherein, even with thoſe advantages, they always miſcarried: they appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole laſt reign; nor even ſcrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have ſuffered ſo much ſeverity.

Upon theſe conſiderations, I muſt confeſs to have ſuſpended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of *popery*; many of whom appear to be hale, ſtrong, active young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and ſleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reaſon) upon all other ſubjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the ſame neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed from the danger of *popery*, by twenty leagues of ſalt water: but this, I fear, is a digreſſion.

When

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When an artificial report was raiſed here, many years ago, of an intended invaſion by the *pretender*, (which blew over, after it had done its office) the *diſſenters* argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now ſtands, we durſt not aſſiſt you; and therefore, unleſs you take off the *teſt*, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in earneſt, if we are deſired to take up arms in your defence, our anſwer ſhall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lye by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abettors, in an hundred converſations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take off the *teſt*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I form the following query: Whether, in caſe of an invaſion from the *pretender*, (which is not quite ſo probable as from the *grand ſignior*) the *diſſenters* can, with prudence and ſafety, offer the ſame plea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſtipulation with the invaders? And, whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, ſufficient motives for repelling invaſions; eſpecially in our ſectaries, who call themſelves the *trueſt proteſtants*, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceneſs againſt *popery*?

Whether

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the bleſſed king Charles the firſt, enjoined by act of parliament, can be juſtly reckoned a particular and diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent government?

Whether, in thoſe churches, where the ſaid day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the ſaid act, if the preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its conſequences, the following uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, the cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel of fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed king, who, by granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that could be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the confeſſion of thoſe wicked men, before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years paſt, even in the preſence of viceroys) who takes that courſe as a means for promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road in a monarchy, where the deſcendents of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

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REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS. *

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the first conquerors of this kingdom were English *catholics*, subjects to English *catholic* kings, from whom, by their valour and success, they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Irish: to which merit, our *brethren*, the dissenters of any denomination whatsoever, have not the least pretensions.

It

In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the *test-act* in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were answered in every shape: but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the presbyterians had to share in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with those of other sectaries. Under the former head, they were fully silenced by our author, in *The presbyterians plea of merit impartially examined* [above, p. 257.] They are now put in the balance with papists, whom, although they have sometimes styled their brethren in adversity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewise. But let them here dispute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of their establishment.

* The author having before examined the presbyterians plea of merit, with respect to their own principles and practices, has, in this tract, put them in the balance against papists. *Hawkes.*

This

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious *catholics*, were often forced to rise in their own defence, against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish, with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them, by force of arms, into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation, the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner, by new English adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of *puritans*, *presbyterians*, *independents*, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which however at last they did, with the

 murder

This tract is written under the assumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means, the author attacks his adversaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the several atrocious crimes of the papists; but, at the same time, palliates them so skilfully, that, from that very acknowledgement, he enables himself to aim the heavier blows at the presbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particular passage is quoted, beginning thus, "We allow the CATHOLICS to be BRETHREN of the dissenters," &c. *p.* 307. *l.* 31. ending *p.* 308. *l.* 26.]—The greatest art, and the keenest strokes of irony, display themselves throughout the whole composition: and the conclusion of it is drawn up with a mixture of serious and ironical arguments, that seem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Orrery.*

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murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The *catholics* were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas, our *brethren* the *dissenters* were always republicans, both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the *catholics* of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true *whigs*, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II. against the *pretender* and all his *adherents*. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude, as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that *wicked* minister, the earl of Oxford.

The *catholics* of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their *brother* dissenters to the appellation of *protestants*. They have always *protested* against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the *court* of Rome; against *deism*, *atheism*, *Socinianism*, *quakerism*, *Muggletonianism*, *fanaticism*, *Brownism*, as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of *protestants* assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their *protesting against archbishops*,

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bishops, bishops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the *solemn league and covenant,* * where the word *popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the *catholics* agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the *catholics* cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I. more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friars went about in the disguise of *presbyterian* and *independent* ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet the bulk of *catholics* in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The *catholics* have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O'Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterwards by the *catholic* lords and gentlemen of the English pale in defence of the king, after the English rebellion began. It is well known, that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before by an invasion of the *covenanting* Scottish *kirk rebels,* and by the base terms the king

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and English fanatics in the rebellion against King Charles I. 1643. by which they solemnly engaged, among other things, "to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by "archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeans, and all other episcopal "officers depending on that hierarchy." *Hawkes.*

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was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the *catholic* army in Ireland fought for their king against the forces sent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? for which great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And, what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were intirely subdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful subjects to Cromwell; yet being wise enough to foresee a *restoration*, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for the service of the king; just saving the tide, and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the *catholics* lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the *catholics* are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned

casioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a *new* religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the *old*: the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that *christianity* was first introduced into this island, which was by *catholics*; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a *solemn league and covenant* to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The *catholics* of Ireland in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates, which the *catholics* lost in defence of the antient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics: and thus they gained by their *rebellion*, what the *catholics* lost by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *catholics* to be *brethren* of the dissenters; some people, indeed, (which we cannot

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not allow) would have *them* to be our children, because *we* both dissent from the church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which *negative discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics, in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow protestants*. It is true, that all these sects (except the *catholics*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the *quakers*) in rebellion. But, how the church-men can be stiled their *fellow protestants*, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the king, and the nobility, for twenty years, in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expressly tells us, that *all are* FELLOWS; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches and cities, and royal palaces, shattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT-BALL; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers who had *lost the game*.

It is said the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it must follow, that

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that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe in religion, eſpecially by ſuch zealots, who never bore the leaſt regard to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the maſk of hypocriſy, to promote their diabolical deſigns. And therefore, Biſhop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honeſtly, that the *ſaints* of thoſe fanatic times pronounced themſelves above morality; which they reckoned among *beggarly elements;* but the meaning of theſe two laſt words, thus applied, we confeſs to be above our underſtanding.

Among thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the moſt regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the ſupreme power of a king, * and the three eſtates in parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative authority, all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither was there much bloodſhed on ſo great a change of religion. But a conſiderable number of lords, and other perſons of quality through the kingdom, ſtill continued in their old faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, employed in offices, civil as well as military, more or leſs in every reign, until the teſt act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of *catholics* gradually and conſiderably leſſened. So that,

* Henry VIII.

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that, in the reign of king Charles I. England became in a great degree a proteſtant kingdom, without taking the ſectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with reſpect to human laws, the *catholics* never diſputed; but the *puritans*, and other ſchiſmatics, without the leaſt pretence to any ſuch authority, by an open rebellion, deſtroyed that legal reformation, as we obſerved before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *catholics*, in ſuch a Babel of religions, choſe to adhere to their own faith left them by their anceſtors, rather than ſeek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthuſiaſts.

We repeat once more, That if a national religion be changed by the ſupreme legiſlative power, we cannot diſpute the human legality of ſuch a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any conſiderable party of men which differs from an eſtabliſhment, either old or new, can deſerve liberty of conſcience, it ought to conſiſt of thoſe, who, for want of conviction, or of right underſtanding the merits of each cauſe, conceive themſelves bound in conſcience to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; becauſe they are of all others leaſt likely to be authors of innovations either in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide: if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion againſt the king, without whoſe conſent, by the nature of our conſtitution, no law can paſs; if this reformation be introduced

introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates) by the murder of their king, and by abolishing the whole system of government; the *catholics* cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties except themselves, and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power, than the *catholics*, who during all that period of twenty years, were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the *catholics*, and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow-dissenters, that * *persecution merely for conscience' sake is against the genius of the gospel.* And so likewise is *any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men.* We are also ready enough to allow, that *the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions.* Because, it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound, as

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

as much as a ſtab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or juſtice of the peace, *merely on a point of conſcience, is a negative diſcouragement*, and conſequently a real perſecution: for in this caſe, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin, puts a very pertinent and powerful queſtion: *If God be the ſole Lord of the conſcience, why ſhould the rights of conſcience be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* Now, to apply this to the *catholics*: The belief of tranſubſtantiation *is a matter purely of religion and conſcience, which doth not affect the political intereſt of ſociety, as ſuch: therefore, why ſhould the rights of conſcience, whereof* God *is the ſole* Lord, *be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* And why ſhould God be deprived of this right over a *catholic's* conſcience, any more than over that of any other diſſenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the diſſenters hath very juſtly complained, that by this perſecuting teſt-act great numbers of *true proteſtants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than ſtay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the *catholics* can bring many more inſtances of the ſame kind; ſome thouſands of their religion having been forced by the ſacramental teſt to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting ſhare of that power and profit which

* See reaſons againſt the teſt.

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which belong to them as *fellow christians*, whereof they are deprived *merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy.* Hence it clearly follows in the words of the same * author, that *if we* catholics *are incapable of employments, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations.*

The *catholics* are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to shew them an example.

Further, the *catholics*, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same *test* offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: *To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial person a fair and equitable one; we* catholics *propose, with submission to the proper judges, that effectual security be taken against persecution, by obliging all, who are admitted into places of power and trust, whatever their religious profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting principles.* It is hoped the public will take notice of these words, *whatever their religious profession be;* which plainly include the *catholics;* and for which we return thanks to *our dissenting brethren.*

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing civil

* See reasons against the test.

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civil and military employments, they would never be at eafe, till they had raifed their own way of worfhip into the national religion through all his majefty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottifh kirk;* which when they had once brought to pafs, they would no more allow liberty of confcience to epifcopal diffenters, than they did in the time of the great Englifh rebellion, and in the fucceeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was reftored. There is another very learned fchifmatical * pamphleteer, who in anfwer to a malignant libel, called, *The prefbyterian plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this afperfion, by affuring all epifcopal proteftants of the prefent church, upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the diffenters will never offer at fuch an attempt. In like manner the *catholics*, when legally required, will openly declare *upon their words and honours*, that as foon as their *negative difcouragements* and their *perfecution* fhall be removed by repealing the facramental teft, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the caufe, whether the kingdom fhall think fit to make their faith the eftablifhed religion or not.

And again, whereas our *presbyterian* brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected againft them both in and out of feafon, by our common enemy the prefent conformifts; we do declare in the defence

* Vindication of the Proteftant Diffenters.

defence of our ſaid brethern, that the reproach aforeſaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*, which they always diſdained to anſwer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformiſt, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on ſo beaten a ſubject; he was pleaſed to divert the diſcourſe with a fooliſh ſtory, which I cannot forbear telling to his diſgrace. He ſaid, there was a clergyman in Yorkſhire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs: whereat the pariſhioners being much offended, complained to the archbiſhop; who having ſent for the clergyman, and ſeverely reprimanded him, the miniſter had no better an anſwer than by confeſſing the fact; adding, that all the pariſh were drunkards; that he deſired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and ſince they ſtill continued to be as great drunkards as before, he reſolved to go on, except his grace would pleaſe to forbid him.

We are very ſenſible how heavy an accuſation lieth upon the *catholics* of Ireland; that ſome years before king Charles II. was reſtored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the *rump* to be ſettled; after all his majeſty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the ſaid *catholics*, who remained here in an enſlaved condition, joined to ſend an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole

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island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which, after the restoration, was proved against them by dean Boyle, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The *catholics* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of men murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught, at a time when either the *rump* or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the *catholics*, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemy the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess, that considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least

least to the recovery of England and Scotland, from those betrayers and sellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any *brands* fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves who by the benefit of the clergy are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but escape the pain and the mark by being in *fee* with the jailor. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a *very fresh instance*, have the souls and bodies and purses of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the *catholic* priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *catholics* do humbly petition *(without the least insinuation of threatening)* that upon this *favourable* juncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same

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reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their *brethren* the *dissenters*.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the test was not repealed. *Hawkes.*

Some

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Some REASONS against the BILL for settling the tythe of *Hemp, Flax, &c.* by a *Modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of commons; who, in the last sessions, were pleased to throw out a bill † sent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a law: and who, in the present sessions, defeated the arts and endeavours of *schismatics* to repeal the *sacramental test*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might, by its necessary consequences, be very displeasing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reasons purely secular; and that this last attempt for repealing the *test* did much more affect at present the temporal interest, than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both those occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable

* Many eminent clergymen, who opposed this scheme, applied to Dr. Swift to write against it, which he readily consented to upon their giving him some hints: and two days after, the following reasons were presented to several members of parliament, which had so good an effect that the bill was dropped. *Hawkes.*

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid observing in it, a greater fund of calmness, not a less degree of spirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orrery.*

† For the bishops to divide livings. *Hawkes.*

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honourable houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that ſuch an aſſembly as the preſent houſe of commons ſhould now, with an expedition more than uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, with a clauſe, whereby the church is to loſe two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

Some reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a great hardſhip upon them, are, I conceive, thoſe that follow. I ſhall venture to enumerate them, with all deference due to that honourable aſſembly.

Firſt, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's repreſentatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the preſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar, be in the leaſt diſputed: becauſe there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years paſt, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the ſame merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding ſome part of the year at his country ſeat, who is not in his own conſcience fully convinced, that the tythes of his miniſter have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one-third, or at leaſt one fourth of their former value, excluſive of all non-livenciers.

The

The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from *papists* and *dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *protestants*; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a-year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow-subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men? They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours, the landlords, possess their estates; and have been always supposed,

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poſed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can ſhew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true, that ſome perſons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this caſe an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion ſhall increaſe, which is already in a very forward way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill, a clauſe for diminiſhing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that uſeful plant among us: and here likewiſe the load is to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefits. It will not be eaſy to foreſee where ſuch proceedings are like to ſtop: or whether by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing all things tythable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is, and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament, without their own conſent, is a new thing, not much above the date of ſeventy years; before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themſelves. But things are extremely altered at preſent: it is not now ſufficient to tax them

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them in common with their fellow-ſubjects, without impoſing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow-ſubjects are exempt; and this in a country profeſſing *chriſtianity*.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout the kingdom have been ſtript of their glebes by the confuſion of times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion, and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a ſmall piece of ground in their pariſhes, at a moſt exorbitant rent, and uſually for a ſhort term of years, whereon to build a houſe, and enable them to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, I am a witneſs, that they are generally more conſtant reſidents than their brethren in England; where the meaneſt vicar hath a convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; beſides the certainty of his little income from honeſt farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewiſe to make him preſents, according to their ability, for his better ſupport. In all which circumſtances, the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable houſe will conſider, that it is impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the leaſt injuſtice to the meaneſt cottager in his pariſh in any bargain for tythes, or other eccleſiaſtical dues. He can at the utmoſt only demand to have his tythe

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tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the pooreſt cottager to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, can, and generally doth, impoſe upon the miniſter, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſolence, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his proctor. Inſomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy, in general, receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one-tenth amounts to two hundred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds a-year, if thoſe tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that ſum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty conſiderable, but if theſe and all the reſt were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradeſmen nor farmers, will

touch

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touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus, in the present case, the tythe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, which by a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the present bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must, in process of time, sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money, which is now at least nine-tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at least within our own memories, in purchasing almost every thing required for the necessities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can attest, who hath kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which without a miracle must still increase; yet when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in all our traffic abroad, either of import or export, go by the general rate, at which money is valued in those coun-

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tries, that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reason, no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity, upon any consideration whatsoever; which is a rock that many corporations have split upon, to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known enough in England, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago, by several ancient noble families, do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for some great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: thus, the *papists* and *non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper securities to the government; which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore, if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker, would bear any more

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more of the charge than for what themſelves consumed; but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas, by this bill, the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undiſputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the reſt of the kingdom are ſuppoſed to be gainers.

This bill is directly againſt *magna charta*, whereof the firſt clauſe is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they ſwear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employments, is a very different thing. The poſſeſſors of civil and military employments are no corporation: neither are they any part of our conſtitution; their ſalaries, pay, and perquiſites are all changeable, at the pleaſure of the prince who beſtows them, although the army be paid from funds raiſed and appropriated by the legiſlature. But the clergy, as they have little reaſon to expect, ſo they deſire no more than their ancient legal dues; only, indeed, with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which, it is to be feared, they muſt wait for until more favourable times. It is well known, that they have already, of their own accord, ſhewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of *flax*, ſeldom taking above a fourth part of their tithe for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothing at

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all from new beginners: waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting, that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner to their detriment by that very assembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution, ever since *christianity* became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason, or from what provocations; I say, from that very assembly, who, during the intervals of convocations, should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard, upon inquiry, that any of those gentlemen, who, among us, without doors, are called the court-party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the king's patronage, upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of deanries, and other considerable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The *dissenters*, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the *test*, have lost nothing,

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nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the leaſt offence, are, by this bill, deprived of a conſiderable branch of their ancient legal rights; whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge——*hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus;* becauſe, when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time, of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever conſent, that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples, as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill, is, by proper encouragement, to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *leſſening the tithe of flax and hemp*, is one of ſuch a kind, as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect: Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by perſuading their people to ſow *flax* and *hemp*, by pro-

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curing ſeed for them, and by having them inſtructed in the management thereof; and this they did, not without reaſonable hopes of increaſing the value of their pariſhes after ſome time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But, if this *modus* ſhould take place, the clergy will be ſo far from gaining, that they will become loſers by their extraordinary care, by having their beſt arable lands turned to *flax* and *hemp*, which are reckoned great impoveriſhers of land: they cannot, therefore, be blamed, if they ſhould ſhew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their pariſhes, as they hitherto have ſhewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, ſome of them have already declared, at leaſt ſo far as to reſolve not to give themſelves any more trouble than other men, about promoting a manufacture, by the ſucceſs of which, they only, of all men, are to be ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now ſtands, to a ſet of men who might, on many accounts, be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually anſwered: but this is what they are far from deſiring; all they petition for, is no more than to continue on the ſame footing with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to paſs into a law, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame law would not only appoint one or more ſworn ſurveyors in each pariſh to meaſure the lands, on which

which *flax* and *hemp* are ſown, but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine, whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind, there muſt conſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbouring juſtices of peace muſt be teazed as often as thoſe diſputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to me, with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill; ſome whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the reſt did not occur to me. I ſhall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and, if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity.

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of tytheable lands, for many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject to the demand of tythes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken juſt ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of ſuch tithes leſſened by act of parliament, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo deprived of his property, without the greateſt violation of common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very miſtaken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch

inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied, will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow subjects, either for the support of his majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time, when, by the decrease of the value of their parishes, they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature hath heretofore distinguished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the present clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That by the original constitution of these kingdoms, the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession of that right as low as the restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the cession of the clergy, the commons can be considered in this case in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tythes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tythes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchases upon an equal foot of advantage with the rest of their fellow-subjects. And that some tythes in the hands of improprietors are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That

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X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Laſtly, That if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for ſome years paſt to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy, is at leaſt as uſeful to the public as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reaſonable to grant the clergy, in three parts of the nation, an additional ſupport, than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *&c.* therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in England, affects only lands reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland; and if it increaſes (as it probably will) muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have no intereſt like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country, and therefore

fore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the *modus* of *flax* in England, was brought in the first year of the reign of king George I. when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in Lincolnshire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been sown before that time under the same condition of tything, in which they were before the passing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the staple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six-pence a garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the reasons for which taxation will not hold, with regard to property at least, till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had so tender a regard to property, that they would never suffer any law to pass, whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved, without their own consent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the* modus, *since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

A

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A modeſt PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.

IT is a melancholy object to thoſe, who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they ſee the *ſtreets*, the *roads*, and *cabin doors* crowded with *beggars* of the female ſex, followed by three, four, or ſix children, *all in rags*, and importuning every paſſenger for an alms. Theſe *mothers*, inſtead of being able to work for their honeſt livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in ſtrolling, to beg ſubſiſtence for their *helpleſs infants*, who, as they grow up, either turn *thieves* for want of work, or leave their *dear native country to fight for the pretender in* Spain, or ſell themſelves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their *mothers*, and frequently of their *fathers*, is *in the preſent deplorable ſtate of the kingdom* a very great additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap and eaſy method of making theſe children ſound and uſeful members of the commonwealth, would deſerve ſo well of the public, as to have his ſtatue ſet up for a preſerver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of *profeſſed beggars*:

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beggars: it is of a much greater extent, and ſhall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to ſupport them, as thoſe who demand our charity in the ſtreets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important ſubject, and maturely weighed the ſeveral *ſchemes of our projectors*, I have always found them groſly miſtaken in their computation. It is true, a child *juſt dropt from its dam* may be ſupported by her milk for a ſolar year, with little other nouriſhment: at moſt not above the value of two ſhillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in *ſcraps*, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propoſe to provide for them in ſuch a manner, as, inſtead of being a charge upon their *parents*, or the *pariſh*, or *wanting food and raiment* for the reſt of their lives, they ſhall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thouſands.

There is likewiſe another great advantage in my ſcheme, that it will prevent thoſe *voluntary abortions*, and that horrid practice of *women murdering their baſtard children*, alas! too frequent among us, ſacrificing the *poor innocent babes*, I doubt more to avoid the expence than the ſhame, which would move tears and pity in the moſt ſavage and inhuman breaſt.

The number of ſouls in this kingdom being uſually reckoned one million and a half, of theſe I cal-

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I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple, whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many under *the present distresses of the kingdom*) but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand for those women, who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can *neither employ them in handicraft* or *agriculture*; we neither build houses, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood *by stealing*, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom *so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.*

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old, is no saleable com-

modity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at moſt, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at leaſt four times that value.

I ſhall now therefore humbly propoſe my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the leaſt objection.

I have been aſſured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nurſed, is at a year old moſt delicious, nouriſhing, and wholeſome food, whether *ſtewed*, *roaſted*, *baked*, or *boiled*; and I make no doubt that it will equally ſerve in a *fricaſſee*, or a *ragouſt*.

I do therefore humbly offer it to *public conſideration*, that of the hundred and twenty thouſand children already computed, twenty thouſand may be reſerved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to *ſheep*, *black cattle*, or *ſwine*; and my reaſon is, that theſe children are ſeldom the fruits of marriage, *a circumſtance not much regarded by our ſavages*, therefore *one male* will be ſufficient to ſerve four females. That the remaining hundred thouſand may, at a year old, be offered in ſale to the perſons of *quality and fortune* through the kingdom; always adviſing the mother to let them ſuck plentifully in the laſt month, ſo as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will

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will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in *winter*.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will encrease to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for landlords*, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author, † an eminent French physician, that *fish being a prolific diet*, there are more children born in Roman *catholic countries* about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of *popish infants* is at least three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of *papists* among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all *cottagers*, *labourers*, and four-fifths of the *farmers*) to be about two shillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the *carcase of a good fat child*, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent

 nutritive

† Rabelais.

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nutritive meat, when he hath only ſome particular friend, or his own family to dine with him. Thus the ſquire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight ſhillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till ſhe produces another child.

Thoſe, who are more thrifty (*as I muſt confeſs the times require*) may flay the carcaſe; the ſkin of which, artificially dreſſed, will make admirable *gloves for ladies*, and *ſummer boots for fine gentlemen.*

As to our city of Dublin, ſhambles may be appointed for this purpoſe in the moſt convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be aſſured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dreſſing them hot from the knife, as we do *roaſting pigs.*

A very worthy perſon, *a true lover of his country*, and whoſe virtues I highly eſteem, was lately pleaſed, in diſcourſing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my ſcheme. He ſaid, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late deſtroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of veniſon might be well ſupplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; ſo great a number of both ſexes in every county being now ready to ſtarve for want of work and ſervice; and theſe to be diſpoſed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwiſe by their neareſt relations. But, with due deference to ſo excellent a friend, and ſo deſerving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his ſentiments; for, as to the males, my American

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acquaintance aſſured me, from frequent experience, that their fleſh was generally tough and lean, like that of our ſchool-boys, by continual exerciſe, and their taſte diſagreeable, and to fatten them would not anſwer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble ſubmiſſion, *be a loſs to the public*, becauſe they ſoon would become breeders themſelves: and beſides, it is not improbable, that ſome ſcrupulous people might be apt to cenſure ſuch a practice, (although indeed very unjuſtly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which I confeſs, hath always been with me the ſtrongeſt objection againſt any project, how well ſoever intended.

But in order to juſtify my friend, he confeſſed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the iſland of Formoſa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in converſation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young perſon happened to be put to death, the executioner ſold the carcaſe to *perſons of quality* as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poiſon the Emperor, was ſold to his imperial *Majeſty's Prime Miniſter of State*, and other great *mandarins* of the court, *in joints from the gibbet*, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the ſame uſe were made of ſeveral plump young girls in this town, who, without one ſingle groat to their fortunes, cannot ſtir abroad without a chair, and appear at a *play-houſe*

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and *assemblies* in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day *dying* and *rotting*, by *cold* and *famine*, and *filth* and *vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal, which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, *first*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen *the number of papists*, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose *to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender*, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so *many good protestants*, who have chosen rather to leave their coun-

try,

try, than ſtay at home and pay tithes againſt their conſcience to an *epiſcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have ſomething valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a diſtreſs, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already ſeized, *and money a thing unknown*.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thouſand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at leſs than ten ſhillings a piece *per ann.* the nation's ſtock will be thereby encreaſed 50,000 l. *per ann.* beſides the profit of a new diſh introduced to the tables of all *gentlemen of fortune* in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taſte. And the money will circulate among ourſelves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The conſtant breeders, beſides the gain of eight ſhillings *ſterling per annum* by the ſale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the firſt year.

Fifthly, This food would likewiſe bring great *cuſtom to taverns*; where the vintners will certainly be ſo prudent as to procure the beſt receipts for dreſſing it to perfection, and conſequently have their houſes frequented by all the *fine gentlemen*, who juſtly value themſelves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a ſkilful cook, who underſtands how to oblige his gueſts, will contrive to make it as expenſive as they pleaſe.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wiſe nations have either encouraged

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couraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would encreaſe the care and tenderneſs of mothers towards their children, when they were ſure of a ſettlement for life to the poor babes, provided in ſome ſort by the public, to their annual profit inſtead of expence. We ſhould ſoon ſee an honeſt emulation among the married women, *which of them could bring the fatteſt child to the market.* Men would become as *fond* of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their *mares* in foal, their *cows* in calf, or *ſows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too *frequent* a practice) for fear of a miſcarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For inſtance, the addition of ſome thouſand carcaſes in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of *ſwines fleſh*, and improvement in the art of making good *bacon*, ſo much wanted among us by the great deſtruction of *pigs*, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taſte and magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which, roaſted whole, will make a conſiderable figure at a *Lord mayor's feaſt*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being ſtudious of brevity.

Suppoſing that one thouſand families in the city would be conſtant cuſtomers for infants fleſh, beſides others who might have it at *merry meetings*, particularly at *weddings* and *chriſtenings*, I compute, that Dublin would take off, annually, about twenty thouſand carcaſes; and the reſt of the

the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy *for this one individual kingdom of* IRELAND, *and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth.* Therefore, let no man talk to me of other expedients: *of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither clothes nor houshold furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments, that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of* learning to love *our country, in the want of which we differ even from* LAPLANDERS, *and the inhabitants of* TOPINAMBOO: *of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy towards their tenants:* lastly, *of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shop-keepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact*

upon

upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, * till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in *practice.*

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in *disobliging* ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt; *although, perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.*

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion, as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. *First,* As things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for

* These expedients had been proposed before, some of them by the Dean; and to urge the practice of them, *by shewing the only alternative,* seems to have been the design of this paper. *Hawkes.*

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for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs. And, *secondly*, There being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence, put into a common stock, would leave them in debt two millions of pounds *sterling*, adding those, who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not, at this day, think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the *oppression of landlords*, the *impossibility of paying rent without money or trade*, the *want of common sustenance*, with neither *house nor clothes* to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most *inevitable prospect of entailing the like*, or greater miseries, upon their *breed for ever*.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the *public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich*. I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing.

To

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To the Honourable House of Commons, *&c.*

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN in and about the City of *Dublin*.

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your *petitioners* are a great and numerous *society*, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain *lewd*, *idle*, and *disorderly* persons for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city, habited sometimes in *green coats*, and sometimes *laced*, with long *oaken cudgels* in their hands, and without swords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine Irish *footmen*: whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may soon discover, by their *awkward*, *clumsy*, *ungenteel* gait and behaviour; by their unskilfulness in dress, even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of *impudence* and *dulness* peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent

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transcendent pitch of assurance; although it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in time, if these *counterfeits* shall happen to succeed in their evil design of passing for *real footmen*, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your *petitioners* do farther alledge, that many of the said *counterfeits*, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of *strutting*, *staring*, *swearing*, *swaggering*, in a manner that plainly shewed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your *petitioners* do therefore make it their humble request, that this *honourable house* (to many of whom your *petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration: humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain *officers* might at the public charge be employed to search for, and discover all such *counterfeit footmen*; to carry them before the next *justice* of peace, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they should be stripped of their *coats* and *oaken* ornaments, and be set two hours in the stocks; upon the second conviction, besides stripping, to be set six hours in the stocks, with a paper pinned on their breasts, signifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: *A. B. commonly call-*

ed A. B. Esq; a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman.

And for any other offence, the said *toupee* shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your *honours* will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our *honourable calling*, that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our *fraternity*, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the *worst of times*. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *seditious* design, to render us less capable of serving the *public* in any great employments, as several of our *fraternity*, as well as our *ancestors*, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *honours* to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency: And your *petitioners* (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

A PRO-

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A PROPOSAL for giving BADGES to the BEGGARS in all the Parishes of *Dublin*.

By the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Written in the year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions, upon the score of party, in which my predecessors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one, of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of

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a benefit to the city. In the present commission, all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of 'Squires, not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done, except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared: and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, or adjusting accounts of meal and small beer; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean some schemes recommended to the general Board, for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house, and endowing it with so considerable a revenue: and the principal end I take to have been, that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house, than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city, so there can be hardly any thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and bastards, or orphans of farmers, whose country

country landlords never contributed one ſhilling towards their ſupport. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honeſty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a ſmall number of original poor in every pariſh, who might, without being burdenſome to the pariſhioners, find a tolerable ſupport.

I have for ſome years paſt applied myſelf to ſeveral Lord-Mayors, and the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain propoſal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every pariſh, who begged in the ſtreets; that the ſaid beggars ſhould be confined to their own pariſhes; that they ſhould wear their badges well ſown upon one of their ſhoulders, always viſible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal puniſhment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in ſome clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual diſquiet, which they do not ill deſerve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of leſs conſequence; becauſe the remedy is in their own power: but, all ſtreet-walkers and ſhop-keepers bear an equal ſhare in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection againſt this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their ſeveral pariſhes. The objection was this: What ſhall we do with the foreign

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beggars? must they be left to ſtarve? I anſwered, No; but they muſt be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country pariſh do as they pleaſe, or rather, after the practice in England, ſend them from one pariſh to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England ſtill in force, every pariſh is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no ſuch conſequence in this point as ſome would make it, whether a country pariſh be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer pariſhes of the kingdom, all neceſſaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean, butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himſelf a beggar, can ſometimes ſpare a ſup or a morſel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own pariſh, who is diſabled from work. A beggar native of the pariſh is known to the 'Squire, to the church miniſter, to the popiſh prieſt, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally ſome relations able to live, and contribute ſomething to his maintenance: none of which advantages can be reaſonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their ſupport by doing ſome kind of work in their power, and thereby be leſs burdenſome to the people. In ſhort, all neceſſaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is

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it equitable, that beggars ſhould put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But, when the ſpirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuiſance to the whole country: he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of ſtealing to their brood at four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a ſingle perſon unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but ſtill with a view to this town, whither he arrives at laſt, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder, that the country 'ſquires ſhould be very willing to ſend up their colonies; but why the city ſhould be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thouſand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its ſuburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion ſhares ſo deeply in the daily increaſing miſeries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which miſeries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual ſwarms of foreign beggars, who might be baniſhed in a month, without expence, and with very little trouble.

As I am perſonally acquainted with a great number of ſtreet-beggars, I find ſome weak attempts have been made in one or two pariſhes to promote

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promote the wearing of badges; and my firſt queſtion to thoſe who aſk an alms is, *Where is your badge?* I have, in ſeveral years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, ſome out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their ſhoulders, only covered with a ſort of capes, which they could lift up, or let down upon occaſion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to ſteal, nor aſhamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be ſeen with a badge, as many of them have confeſſed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon ſuch an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether ſuch wretches deſerve to be relieved. As to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, this abſurd inſolence hath ſo affected me, that, for ſeveral years paſt, I have not diſpoſed of one ſingle farthing to a ſtreet-beggar, nor intend to do ſo until I ſee a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to perſuade all my brother-walkers to follow my example, which moſt of them aſſure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deſerve charity. However, as to perſons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the perſecution we ſuffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To ſay the truth, there is not a more undeſerving vicious race of human kind, than the bulk of thoſe who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miſeries is originally owing to our own faults

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faults (but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention) so I am confident, that among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition, did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers; but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of *increase* and *multiply* is by us converted into a curse: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable, if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with christianity. It is seldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business; nor takes a wife without a suitable portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children.

But

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But in this kingdom, the caſe is directly contrary, where many thouſand couples are yearly married, whoſe whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be ſufficient to purchaſe a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-ſupper, nor have any proſpect of ſupporting their *honourable ſtate* but by ſervice, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their *happineſs* is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to ſteal a ſhilling to pay their popiſh prieſt, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wiſdom would be required, to find ſome kind of remedy againſt this deſtructive evil, or at leaſt, not to draw the conſequences of it upon our decaying city; the greateſt part whereof muſt, of courſe, in a few years, become deſolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not abſolutely barbarous, parents think themſelves bound, by the law of nature and reaſon, to make ſome proviſion for their children; but, the reaſon offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying, is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been, for ſome time paſt, extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it ſeems they are grown ſo gracious as to tranſmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profeſs to mean real Engliſh beggars, in the literal meaning of

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of the word, as it is usually understood by protestants. It seems the justices of the peace, and parish-officers in the western coasts of England, have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order advance the English protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind to send over *gratis*, and duty-free. I have had the honour, more than once, to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin: and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city should receive them into Bridewell; and, after a month's residence, having been well whipt twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back, with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should, in justice, return them a dozen for one, to dispose of as they pleased.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their several parishes. For instance; a beggar of the parish of St. Werburgh's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand; because the inhabitants, one or other, walk through every street in town, and give their alms, without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well disposed of: and these helps, added to what they

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get in eatables, by going from houſe to houſe among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthenſome, be ſufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the ſuburb-pariſhes will not have altogether the ſame advantage, becauſe they are not equally in the road of buſineſs and paſſengers: but here it is to be conſidered, that the beggars there, have not ſo good a title to public charity, becauſe moſt of them are ſtrollers from the country, and compoſe a principal part of that great nuiſance which we ought to remove.

I ſhould be apt to think, that few things can be more irkſome to a city miniſter, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his diſtrict, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of thoſe to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuſe to any miniſter of a city-pariſh, he uſually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he ſays, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as thoſe beadles often keep ale-houſes, they find their account in ſuch cuſtomers. This evil might eaſily be remedied, if the pariſhes would make ſome ſmall addition to the ſalaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of thoſe officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual method, in the power of every miniſter to put in practice; I mean, by making it the intereſt of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for, if the pariſh beggars were abſolutely forbidden by the miniſter and church

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church officers to ſuffer ſtrollers to come into the pariſh, upon pain of themſelves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houſes and ſhops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiſcretion of our city ſhop-keepers, who ſuffer their doors to be daily beſieged by crowds of beggars, (as the gates of a lord are by duns) to the great diſguſt and vexation of many cuſtomers, whom I have frequently obſerved to go to other ſhops, rather than ſuffer ſuch a perſecution; which might eaſily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infeſt them.

Wherefore I do aſſert, that the ſhop-keepers, who are the greateſt complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every cuſtomer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deſerve what they ſuffer, when a 'prentice with a horſe-whip is able to laſh every beggar from the ſhop, who is not of the pariſh, and doth not wear the badge of that pariſh on his ſhoulder, well faſtened, and fairly viſible; and if this practice were univerſal in every houſe, to all the ſturdy vagrants, we ſhould, in a few weeks, clear the town of all mendicants, except thoſe who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be ſufficient to give them nothing, and then they muſt ſtarve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that firſt endowed this hoſpital; and thoſe who afterwards contributed, as they

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were ſuch who generally inhabited here, ſo they intended what they gave to be for the uſe of the city's poor. The revenues, which have been ſince raiſed by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the leaſt charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore, nothing could more defeat the original deſign, than to miſapply thoſe revenues on ſtrolling beggars or baſtards from the country, which bears no ſhare in the charges we are at.

If ſome of the out-pariſhes be over-burdened with poor, the reaſon muſt be, that the greateſt part of thoſe poor are ſtrollers from the country, who neſtle themſelves where they can find the cheapeſt lodgings, and from thence infeſt every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped, as a moſt inſufferable nuiſance, being nothing elſe but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than ſuffered to levy a vaſt annual tax upon the city, which ſhares too deep in the public miſeries brought on us by the oppreſſions we ly under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow proteſtants, and fellow ſubjects.

Some time ago, I was appointed one of a committee, to enquire into the ſtate of the workhouſe; where we found, that a charity was beſtowed by a great perſon for a certain time, which, in its conſequences, operated very much to the detriment of the houſe; for, when the time was elapſed, all thoſe who were ſupported by that charity,

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rity, continued on the ſame foot with the reſt on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches, from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the reſt; ſo partial, or treacherous, or intereſted, or ignorant, or miſtaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itſelf.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city, is charged upon the bellowers (as they are called) who find their accounts beſt in ſuffering thoſe vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuſe might eaſily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better ſalaries were given to thoſe who execute that office in the ſeveral pariſhes, and would make it their intereſt to clear the town of thoſe caterpillars, rather than hazard the loſs of an employment that would give them an honeſt livelihood. But, if that ſhould fail, yet a general reſolution of never giving charity to a ſtreet beggar out of his own pariſh, or without a viſible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond ſpirit in beggars, which ought to be diſcouraged, and ſeverely puniſhed. It is owing to the ſame cauſes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and raſh marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family by honeſt endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is obſerved, that hardly one beggar in twenty, looks upon himſelf to be relieved by receiving bread,

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or other food; and they have in this town been frequently ſeen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard clothes, unleſs to ſell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work; they want only ale, brandy, and other ſtrong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had ſome other thoughts to offer upon this ſubject. But as I am a deſponder in my nature, and have tolerably well diſcovered the diſpoſition of our people, who never will move a ſtep towards eaſing themſelves from any one ſingle grievance; it will be thought, that I have already ſaid too much, and to little or no purpoſe, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22. 1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE

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ADVICE to the FREEMEN of the City of *Dublin*, in the Choice of a MEMBER to repreſent them in PARLIAMENT. *

THOSE few writers, who, ſince the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they ſhould proceed in electing a new repreſentative for the next ſeſſions, having laid aſide their pens; I have reaſon to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly thoſe who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a ſecond, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what perſon they reſolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two perſons, who ſet up for candidates; one is the preſent lord mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good eſteem, an alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable office ‖ under the crown. The queſtion is, which of theſe two perſons it will be moſt for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, ſo that my enquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and ſituation of both.

* This piece was publiſhed in the year 1733; and as it may be uſeful upon a like occaſion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphrey French.

‡ John Macarell.

‖ Regiſter to the barracks.

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In order to this, I muſt offer my countrymen and fellow citizens ſome reaſons, why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they beſtow their votes.

To perform this with more clearneſs, it may be proper to give you a ſhort ſtate of our unfortunate country.

We conſiſt of two parties, I do not mean popiſh and proteſtant, high and low church, epiſcopal and ſectarians, whig and tory; but of thoſe of Engliſh who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whoſe anceſtors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the Engliſh crown) and the gentlemen ſent from t'other ſide to poſſeſs moſt of the chief employments here: this latter party is very much enlarged and ſtrengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil adminiſtration depoſited in their hands: although, for political ends, and to ſave appearances, ſome employments are ſtill depoſited (yet gradually in a ſmaller number) to perſons born here: this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promiſes, is ſufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might eaſily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for ſeveral years paſt with great prudence made precarious, and during pleaſure; by which means the poſſeſſors are, and muſt inevitably be, for ever dependent: yet thoſe very few of any conſe-

quence,

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quence, which being dealt with ſo ſparing a hand to perſons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who deſire to mend their condition by the favour of thoſe in power.

Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it poſſible you can conceive, that any perſon, who holds an office of ſome hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power ſhall think fit, will, if he ſhould be choſen a member for any city, do the leaſt thing when he ſits in the houſe, that he knows or fears may be diſpleaſing to thoſe who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, theſe are no times to expect ſuch an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. *Blazing ſtars* are much more frequently ſeen than ſuch heroical worthies. And I could ſooner hope to find ten thouſand pounds by digging in my garden, than ſuch a *phœnix* by ſearching among the preſent race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous, as well as modern maxim of politics in the Engliſh nation, to take every opportunity of depreſſing Ireland, whereof an hundred inſtances may be produced in points of the higheſt importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greateſt perſons, among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their preſent ſucceſſors.

But ſo the fact ſtands at preſent. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the houſe of commons) very ſeldom agree in any thing

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thing but their loyalty to his present majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government, to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers and promissees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon an universal submission to whatever shall be demanded; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befal this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our *hewers of wood, and drawers of water:* or an invasion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this person argued, that while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and military list must be paid; and that the episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted farther, that, as money diminished, the price of all necessaries for life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment,

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ment, as well as of my lords the bishops, and to the ruin of every body else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants: yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer: but the consequences drawn were these: That the great men in power sent hither from the other side, were by no means upon the same foot with his majesty's other subjects of Ireland; they had no common ligament to bind them with us; they suffered not with our sufferings; and, if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person, born in this kingdom, shall happen, by his services for the English interest, to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a year; and that he hath likewise an estate in land worth four hundred pounds a year more: suppose him to sit in parliament: then, suppose a land tax to be brought in, of five shillings a pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a year in land: the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire,

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I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there, is fought for power and riches: and so it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives; they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual, by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members;

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bers; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers, easy to be persuaded, such as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get something; if they be merry companions, without suspicion, of a natural bashfulness, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, smiles, and caresses, have any power over them, the larger part of a second hundred may be very easily brought in, at a most reasonable rate.

There is an Englishman * of no long standing among us, but in an employment of great trust, power, and profit. This excellent person did lately publish, at his own expence, a pamphlet, printed in England by authority, to justify the bill for a general excise, or inland duty, in order to introduce that blessed scheme among us. What a tender care must such an English patriot for Ireland have of our interest, if he should condescend to sit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to see that mortal, who would with pleasure blow us up all at a blast: but, he duly receives his thousand pounds a year; makes his progress like a king; is received in pomp in every town † and village where he travels, and shines in the English newspapers.

I will now apply what I have said to you, my brethren,

* Edward Thompson, Esq; member of parliament for York, and a Commissioner of the Revenue of Ireland.

† Mr. Thompson was presented with his freedom of several corporations in Ireland.

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brethren, and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one perſon in office, of which he is not maſter for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honeſt gentleman, as the word honeſt is generally underſtood. But, he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute to give him city ſecurity to pay him the value of his employment, if it ſhould be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occaſions with the honeſt country party in the houſe? although I much queſtion, whether he would do it, even upon that condition.

Wherefore, ſince there are but two candidates, I entreat you will fix on the preſent lord mayor. He hath ſhewn more virtue, more activity, more ſkill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured, with great ſucceſs, to baniſh frauds, corruptions, and all other abuſes, from amongſt you.

A dozen ſuch men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will aſſure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practiſed the rules of virtue with ſo much difficulty, in ſo great and buſy a ſtation, deſerves your thanks, and the beſt return you can make him; and you, my brethren,

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thren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another. Your promises were sins of inconsideration, at best; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He hath four hundred pounds a year under the crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you, the DRAPIER is in the interests of the present lord mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion; although he hath a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not answer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The lord mayor's severity to some unfair dealers, should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of those very traders whose dishonest members he punished. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.

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Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen and Common Council of the Hon. City of Dublin, in the choice of a RECORDER *.

THE office of recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman; it is ſaid, that five or ſix perſons are ſoliciting to ſucceed him in the employment. I am a ſtranger to all their perſons, and to moſt of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvaſſed with more decency, than it ſometimes happeneth upon the like occaſions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the ſeveral perſons and parties concerned ought to proceed, in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And, firſt, As it is a very natural, ſo I can by no means think it an unreaſonable opinion, that the ſons or near relations of aldermen, and other deſerving citizens, ſhould be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's diſpoſal: provided they be equally qualified with other

* Upon the death of Mr. Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, ſeveral gentlemen declared themſelves candidates to ſucceed him: upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Eſq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profeſſion,) was elected.

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other candidates; and, provided that ſuch employments require no more than common abilities, and common honeſty. But, in the choice of a recorder, the caſe is intirely different. He ought to be a perſon of good abilities in his calling; of an unſpotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occaſionally merited of this city before: he ought to be of ſome maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue ſo; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover ſucceſſion; indulgent to tender conſciences; but, at the ſame time, a firm adherer to the eſtabliſhed church. If he be ſuch a one, who hath already ſat in parliament, it ought to be enquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occaſions for the good of his country, and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious: and, laſtly, whether he be a man of courage; not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—Theſe, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more conſequence than that ſingle circumſtance of being deſcended, by a direct or collateral line, from any alderman, or diſtinguiſhed citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or ſhop-keeper in this city, of any ſubſtance, whoſe thriving, leſs or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion

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in parliament, that may the leaſt affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, ſo they ſeem to be moſt concerned in point of intereſt; and their intereſt ought to be moſt regarded, becauſe it altogether dependeth upon the true intereſt of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of diſobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly conſider, which of the candidates is moſt likely to advance the trade of themſelves and their brother citizens; to defend their liberties, both in and out of parliament, againſt all attempts of encroachments or oppreſſion. And ſo God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may, for many years, ſupply that important office with ſkill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people ſay, *Amen*.

The

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The Last Speech and Dying Words of Ebenezer Elliston, who was executed the 2d day of May 1722*.

Publiſhed at his deſire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following ſpeech was written, the town was much peſtered with *ſtreet-robbers*; who, in a barbarous manner, would ſeize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and, after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this ſpeech had ſo good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed ſince.]

I Am now going to ſuffer the juſt puniſhment for my crimes, preſcribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the conſtant cuſtom, that thoſe who come to this place ſhould have ſpeeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are ſuch ſpeeches, that although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man aſhamed to have ſuch nonſenſe and falſe Engliſh charged upon

 him,

* This piece had a moſt excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower claſs of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliſton, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the ſtyle of this paper is ſo natural for a perſon in ſuch circumſtances, that it would almoſt deceive the niceſt judgment. *Orrery.*

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him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession; I have been considering, ever since my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say, from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so, for the bad success of my villanies, in bringing me to this untimely end. For, it is plainly evident, that, after having, some time ago, obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I resolve to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say farther, from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever

ver knew, and ſo continued, until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence, at both times they went to the gallows, to ſmite their breaſts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked diſpoſitions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government, in ever pardoning or tranſporting us; unleſs when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are ſure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the ſame rule, *That it is better to have one fox in a farm, than three or four.* But we generally make a ſhift to return after being tranſported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Beſides, I know it by experience, that ſome hope we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of thoſe odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: theſe wretches put us upon all miſchief, to feed their luſts and extravagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men; their advice is always not to ſpare, if we are purſued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are ſure to be our betrayers.

Now,

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Now, as I am a dying man, something I have done, which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man (and indeed the only honest man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed; in many of which, I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths; I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man, and have received his promise, upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or house-breaking, he will look into his list, and, if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past: I have told the circumstances of those robberies; and shewn plainly, that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have, therefore, desired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published, with the first letters of those gentlemens names; who, by their own want of bravery, are likely

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likely to be the cauſe of all the miſchief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world, without a ſhort deſcription of that kind of life which I have led for ſome years paſt; and is exactly the ſame with the reſt of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally ſo corrupted, from our childhood, as to have no ſenſe of goodneſs; yet ſomething heavy always hangs about us. I know not what it is, that we are never eaſy till we are half drunk among our whores and companions; nor ſleep ſound, unleſs we drink longer than we can ſtand. If we go abroad in the day, a wiſe man would eaſily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have ſuch a ſuſpicious, fearful, and conſtrained countenance; often turning back, and ſlinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never ſaw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is, however, common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and ſoon ſquander it away on our vices in thoſe houſes that receive us; for the maſter and miſtreſs, and the very tapſter, go ſnacks; and beſides, make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, ſnuff-boxes, and the like; we have cuſtomers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have ſeen a tankard worth fifteen pounds ſold to a fellow in ——— ſtreet for twenty ſhillings; and a gold watch

watch for thirty. I have ſet down his name, and that of ſeveral others, in the paper already mentioned. We have ſetters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; eſpecially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conſcience, that if an account were made of a thouſand pounds in ſtolen goods; conſidering the low rates we ſell them at, the bribes we muſt give for concealment, the extortions of ale-houſe reckonings, and other neceſſary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this, we muſt find cloaths for our whores, beſides treating them from morning to night; who, in requital, reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For, when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform againſt us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it deſcribed by our clergy, the trueſt picture of it muſt be in the back-room of one of our ale-houſes at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are paſt their ſenſes, is ſuch a continued horrible noiſe of curſing, blaſphemy, lewdneſs, ſcurrility, and brutiſh behaviour, ſuch roaring and confuſion, ſuch a clutter of mugs and pots at each others heads; that Bedlam, in compariſon, is a ſober and orderly place. At laſt they all tumble from their ſtools and benches, and ſleep away the reſt of the night;

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night; and, generally, the landlord, or his wife, or ſome other whore who has a ſtronger head than the reſt, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be eaſy till we are drunk; and our drunkenneſs conſtantly expoſes us to be more eaſily betrayed and taken.

This is a ſhort picture of the life I have led; which is more miſerable than that of the pooreſt labourer who works for four pence a day; and yet, cuſtom is ſo ſtrong, that, I am confident, if I could make my eſcape at the foot of the gallows, I ſhould be following the ſame courſe this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whoſe intereſt it is to root us out, like wolves, and other miſchievous vermin, againſt which no fair play is required.

If I have done ſervice to men, in what I have ſaid, I ſhall hope I have done ſervice to God; and that will be better than a ſilly ſpeech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly deſpiſe, and have never been uſed to; yet ſuch a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am paſſing along the ſtreets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worſe behind me. I hope you ſhall ſee me die like a man the death of a dog.

THE

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THE INTELLIGENCER.*

NUMBER I.

IT may be ſaid, without offence to other *cities* of much greater conſequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of *folly* and *vice* both native and imported; and as to thoſe imported, we have the advantage

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper, undertaken by the Dean and Dr. Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever publiſhed. The 1ſt, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, ſome verſes in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th and 7th, are put together, and printed as they were publiſhed by Mr. Pope in the 4th volume of their miſcellanies, under the title of *An Eſſay on the Fates of Clergymen*, vol. 10th. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *Mad Meulynox and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was alſo claſſed by Mr. Pope, in vol. 8th. The 9th he intitled *An Eſſay on Modern Education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 10th; the verſes at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 9th. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr. Sheridan, having written a ſhort introduction, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to ſave the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 4th, and intitled, *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland.* No. 19th, is alſo a tract which has been before publiſhed by itſelf, and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the ſame reaſon as the former. The Dean and the Doctor ſoon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were diſappointed of aſſiſtance: the price was but one halfpenny; and ſo few were ſold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up ſuch hints as ſhould be ſent him; of which there were enow, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate with leſs labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730.

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advantage to receive them laſt, and conſequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, becauſe there are many effects of *folly* and *vice* among us, whereof ſome are *general*, others confined to ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few *individuals*; there is a *ſociety* lately eſtabliſhed, who, at great expence, have erected an *office of intelligence*, from which they are to receive weekly information of all *important events* and *ſingularities*, which this famous *metropolis* can furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the trueſt information; in order to which, certain qualified perſons are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſts; ſome at the *play-houſe*, others in *churches*, ſome at *balls*, *aſſemblies*, *coffee-houſes*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; ſome at the ſeveral *courts of juſtice*, both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*; ſome at the *college*, ſome upon my *lord-mayor* and *aldermen* in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to converſe with *favourite chamber-maids*, and to frequent thoſe *ale-houſes* and *brandy-ſhops* where the *footmen* of great families meet in a morning; only the * Barracks and *parliament-houſe* are excepted: becauſe we have yet found no † *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their perſons at either. Out of theſe, and ſome other *ſtore-houſes*, we hope to gather materials enow to *inform*, or *divert*, or *correct*, or *vex* the town.

* Barracks, Buildings for the lodgement of ſoldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, Forlorn hope. See preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's introduction, vol. 7.

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But as *facts*, *passages*, and adventures of all kinds are like to have the greatest share in our *paper*, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for, if none be guilty, none will have cause to blush or be angry; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his *present* amendment, and safe for the *present* from all but his *own conscience*.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for *so bold and unpopular an attempt*. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate counsel to produce into the world every distinguished action, either of *justice*, *prudence*, *generosity*, *charity*, *friendship*, or *public spirit*, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints, that, perhaps, to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery. For we think that even *virtue itself* should submit to such a *mortification*, as by its *visibility* and example will render it more useful to the world. But however, the *readers* of these *papers* need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet, who knows but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two,

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after we have settled a correspondence round the *kingdom?*

But after all our boasts of *materials* sent us by our several *emissaries*, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us further assistance towards entertaining itself. The *world* best knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished according to the custom of AUTHORS. We do therefore *demand* and *expect* continual *advertisements* in great numbers to be sent to the PRINTER of this *paper*, who hath employed a *judicious secretary* to collect such as may be most useful for the *public*.

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our *correspondence*, that, on the contrary, we expressly *charge* and *command* them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode, at length; together with a very particular description of the *persons*, *dresses*, *dispositions* of the several *lords*, *ladies*, *'squires*, *madams*, *lawyers*, *gamesters*, *toupees*, *sots*, *wits*, *rakes*, *and informers*, whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the persons concerned, and treat them with the *respect* or *familiarity*, that may be due to their *stations* and *characters*, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

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NUMBER III.

Ipse per omnes
Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE *players* having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season, it may be no unpleasant speculation, to reflect a little upon this *dramatic piece*, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the dislikers out of dulness or affectation, will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to *wit*; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English *tongue*; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English *nation*, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a *taste* for *true humour* will find an hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now

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Now I take the *comedy*, or *farce*, (or whatever name the *critics* will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera, to excel in this article of *humour;* and upon that merit, to have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here and in England.

As to *poetry*, *eloquence*, and *muſic*, which are ſaid to have moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a *taſte* or *judgement* of the excellencies of the two former: and if a man ſucceed in either, it is upon the authority of thoſe *few judges*, that lend their *taſte* to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in *muſic*; and that among thoſe who crowd the *operas*, nine in ten go thither merely out of *curioſity*, *faſhion*, or *affectation*.

But a *taſte* for *humour* is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding.

And, as this *taſte* of *humour* is purely natural, ſo is *humour* itſelf; neither is it a *talent* confined to men of *wit* or *learning:* for we obſerve it ſometimes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they poſſeſs.

I know very well, that this happy *talent* is contemptibly treated by *critics* under the name of *low humour*, or *low comedy*; but I know likewiſe that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the moſt wit of any nations in Europe, do moſt excel in it, and do moſt eſteem it.

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By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the *climate*, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for *philosophers* to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient towards that kind of satire, which is most useful and gives the least offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character, that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed that corruptions in *religion*, *politics*, and *law*, may be proper *topics* for this kind of *satire*.

There are two ends, that men propose in writing satire: one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer; but without any view towards *personal malice*: the other is a *public spirit*, prompting men of *genius* and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a *court*, a *ministry*, or a *senate*, are they not amply paid by *pensions*, *titles*, and *power*, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? Yet if those, who take offence,

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ſence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene with them whenever they pleaſe.

But, if my deſign be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it is the intereſt of thoſe very *courts* and *miniſters*, whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wiſdom to get the laughers on our ſide; it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get thoſe on our ſide, who can make millions laugh when they pleaſe.

My reaſon for mentioning *courts* and *miniſters*, (*whom I never think on but with the moſt profound veneration*) is, becauſe an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be ſome reflection upon *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr. GAY, the author of this piece, hath been ſomewhat ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the *court*, with a large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a *hundred promiſes*, and *five hundred friends*, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reaſon; he lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a libel, or lampoon againſt a great * miniſter. It is true, that great miniſter was demonſtratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, it ſeemed very juſt, that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment;

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

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niſhment; becauſe, in this moſt reformed age, the virtues of a prime miniſter are no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

It muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the firſt of Mr. GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the *courtiers*. And although it be highly probable, he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering, that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent *perſons* and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of *humour*, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to *religion* and *morality*. This appears from the unparalleled ſucceſs he hath met with: all *ranks*, *parties*, and *denominations* of men, either crowding to ſee his *opera*, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent) appearing frequently at the *theatre*, from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how

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how unjuſt a parallel, *malice*, *envy*, and *diſaffection to the government* have made.

I am affured, that ſeveral worthy *clergymen* in this *city*, went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the *fleering coxcombs* in the *pit*, amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and ſpreading the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a *clergyman*, who would appear openly in his habit at a *theatre*, with ſuch a vicious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch *comedies* and profane *tragedies* as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of offence. But when the *lord chancellors*, who are keepers of the king's conſcience; when the *judges* of the land, whoſe title is *reverend*; when *ladies*, who are bound, by the rules of their ſex, to the ſtricteſt decency, appear in the *theatre* without cenſure; I cannot underſtand, why a young *clergyman*, who goes concealed, out of curioſity, to ſee an innocent and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who ſaid, *He hoped none of his clergy were there.* I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections againſt that reverend body planted in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But I ſhould be very ſorry, that any of them ſhould be ſo weak, as to imitate a *court-chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do

do more good, than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine. *

In this happy performance of Mr. GAY, all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, established among us, by which neither our lives, nor our properties are secure, either in the high-ways, or in public assemblies, or even in our own houses. It shews the miserable lives, and the constant fate of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their *whores*, their *comrades*, and the *receivers* and *purchasers* of those thefts and robberies. This *comedy* contains likewise a *satire*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing those *common robbers of the public*, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of *politicians* in times of corruption.

This *comedy* likewise exposeth, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern *climate*, and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian *effeminacy*, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that many

* Dr. Thomas Heron, chaplain to the society at Lincoln's inn, afterward bishop of Bangor, after that archbishop of York, and now archbishop of Canterbury.

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many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dullness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.

NUMBER XV. *

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Arise, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches, pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord: lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every street.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the island Delos, was inscribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgement for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public spirited Athenians. Had the same poet, inspired by a noble and heroic ardor,

* See above, p. 384. in the notes.

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dor, by another ode, awakened and roufed their whole ftate againft an invading enemy, or opened their eyes againft any fecret and wicked contrivers of their deftruction, they would have erected him a ftatue at leaft. But, alas! that fpirit is fled from the world, and long fince neglected. Virtue is become her own pay-mafter. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been fo little notice taken of a fmall, but moft excellent pamphlet, written by the *Drapier*. It is entitled, *A fhort view of the ftate of Ireland* [above, p. 113.]—There never was any treatife yet publifhed, with a zeal more generous for the univerfal good of a nation, or a defign more feafonable, confidering our prefent lamentable condition: yet we liften not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it fhould have been infcribed in capital letters (as glorious as thofe of the poet) in the moft public part of every corporation-town, through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the feveral unprovoked caufes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and fay, that every head of every family ought to inftruct his children, fo far in this moft *incomparable pamphlet*, that they fhould not only underftand, but be able to repeat by heart, every fingle paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wifeft law-giver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. *And thou fhall teach them diligently unto thy children,*

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children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou rieſt up. And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and on thy gates.'

And where would be the great trouble, ſince we have little elſe to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *ſhort view* every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expence would be extravagant, if he ſhould have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames, in every chamber of his houſe; that it might be as evident as the *hand-writing on the wall.*

And ſince I have ventured thus far to praiſe and recommend this moſt inimitable piece, let me ſpeak a few words in favour of its author.

I would propoſe to my countrymen, before all their money goes off (it is going as faſt as poſſible) to convert it into a few ſtatues to the *Drapier*, in thoſe memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have ſhone with the greateſt luſtre, in defence of our *liberty*, and the *Proteſtant Religion* over all Europe; at *Derry*, at *Enniſkillen*, at *Boyne*, at *Aughrim.* Nor would it be amiſs to ſet up a few more about our *metropolis*, with that glorious inſcription, *Libertas et Natale Solum.*

If our money were metamorphoſed upon ſuch a good occaſion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypſelus *, to get it into his own

 coffers;

* Cypſelus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that ſtate to himſelf in ten years time. *Ariſt. Polit.*

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coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys should act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very statues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

"I am assured, that it hath for some time been "practised," &c. [Here *the short view of the state of Ireland*, above, p. 113. was inserted verbatim.]

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[*N. B.* In the following discourse the author personates a country gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this letter is supposed as directed to the Draper.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October last, received a letter, signed *Andrew Dealer*, and *Patrick Pennyless*, I believe the following paper, just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of *parliament*, with an estate of about 1400 l. a year; which, as a *northern* landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet by the intolerable scarcity of *silver*, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing necessary for my family from *tradesmen*,

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tradesmen, who are not able to be long out of their *money*. But the sufferings of me, and those of my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as, the *buyers* and *sellers* at *fairs* and *markets*; the *shopkeepers* in every *town*; the *farmers* in general; all those who travel with *fish*, *poultry*, *pedlary ware*, and other conveniencies to sell; but more especially *handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a *double pistole*, or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any *gold* of lower value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an *ale-house*, or *brandy-shop*; where, besides the cost of getting *drunk*, (which is usually the case) they must pay *ten-pence* or a *shilling* for changing their *piece* into *silver* to some *huckstering fellow*, who follows that *trade*. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their *oat meal* and other necessaries of life at almost double value; and consequently, are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of *corn* for two years past, and the melancholy disappointment of the present *crop*.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar: these indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot

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find work: but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren without the least grounds of provocation, who rejoice at our sufferings, although sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general, this complaint for the want of *silver* may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a *cut finger*, when he is struck with the *plague*: and yet a poor fellow going to the *gallows* may be allowed to feel the smart of *wasps*, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging and vexatious in every kind of small traffic, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniencies of perhaps greater moment in themselves, have been tamely submitted to with far less disquietude and murmurs. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy; and, that the want of *silver*, in proportion to the little *gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with the

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the * *lord lieutenant* before his last return to England, his *excellency* said, *He had pressed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper persons; and could not see any difficulty of the least moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this article.*

Whoever carries to England twenty seven English shillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine-pence Irish: in a *guinea*, the advantage is three-pence; and two-pence in a *pistole*. The BANKERS, who are generally masters of all our *gold* and *silver*, with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thousand *moidores* in *silver* would thus amount in clear profit to 37 *l.* 10 *s.* The *shopkeepers*, and other *traders*, who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the *government* to redress this evil, at any time they shall please. When the value of *guineas* was lowered in England from 21 *s.* 6 *d.* to only 21 *s.* the consequences to this kingdom were obvious and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of *coin* among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in algebra to reduce the difference of *nine-pence* in *thirty shillings*, or *three-pence* in a *guinea*,

* The Lord Carteret.

to less than a *farthing;* and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to *bankers* to hazard their *silver* at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unseasonable condescension, if the *government* would graciously please to signify to the *poor loyal protestant subjects* of Ireland, either that this miserable want of *silver* is not possible to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in arithmetic; or else, that it doth not stand with the good pleasure of England, to suffer any *silver* at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the *conqueror.*

The question hath been often put in *printed papers*, by the *Drapier* and others, or perhaps by the same *writer* under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a *mint* of its own for the coinage of *gold*, *silver* and *copper;* which is a power exercised by many *bishops*, and every petty prince in Germany? But this question hath never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the *crown* from hence, for the grant of a *public mint;* although it stands upon record, that several cities and corporations here had the liberty of *coining silver.* I can see no reasons, why we alone of all nations are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom since

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ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to *coin* their own *money*.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any ſubject to petition either the *prince* or the *parliament*, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine: nor will undertake, that your *printer* ſhall not be proſecuted in a *court of juſtice*, for publiſhing my *wiſhes*, that a poor ſhop-keeper might be able to change a *guinea* or a *moidore* when a cuſtomer comes for a *crown's* worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of *diſaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of the *ancients*, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain of the *toothach*, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politics ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for *diſaffection*.

There was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in *iron-works*, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave *notes* inſtead of *money* (from *two pence* to *twenty ſhillings*) which paſſed current in all ſhops and markets, as well as in houſes, where meat or drink was ſold. I

ſee

ſee no reaſon, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs; or at leaſt may not ſerve as a *poor* expedient in this our *bleſſed age of paper*; which as it diſchargeth all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive, until an Engliſh *act of parliament ſhall forbid it.*

I have been told, that among ſome of our pooreſt American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little *money* among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of ſmall traffic. How happy ſhould we be, in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers for want of a *mint*, upon our *foreign gold*, by clipping it into *half-crowns*, and *ſhillings*, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps would never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of theſe projects will avail, I ſee nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the *wild* Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this diſadvantage on our ſide, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is ſent away, without ſo much as a recompence in *bugles* or *glaſs* in return.

It muſt needs be a very comfortable circumſtance in the preſent juncture, that ſome thouſand families are gone, are going, or preparing

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to go from hence and ſettle themſelves in America: the poorer ſort for want of work; the farmers, whoſe beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and thoſe who have any *ready money*, or can purchaſe any by the ſale of their goods or leaſes, becauſe they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any *money* to buy the very neceſſaries of life, are haſtening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, *corn* among us carries a very high price; but it is for the ſame reaſon, that *rats* and *cats* and dead *horſes* have been often bought for *gold* in a town beſieged.

There is a perſon of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was juſt come to age, being unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and conſequently, by the riſe of land ſince that time, looked upon his eſtate to be ſet at half value: but numbers of theſe tenants, or their deſcendants, are now offering to ſell their leaſes by cant, * even thoſe which were for lives, ſome of them renewable for ever, and ſome fee-farms, which the landlord himſelf hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded ſeven years ago. And ſome leaſes let at the ſame time for lives, have been given up to him without any conſideration at all.

This is the moſt favourable face of things at preſent among us; I ſay among us of the North, who

* Cant or auction.

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who are esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon this misery and desolation may spread, is easy to foresee.

The vasts sums of *money* daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our *gold* in these parts, almost as much as of our *silver*. And the good wives who come to our houses offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread among our Northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships, that many of them have died miserably in their passage; but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or cousin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a *penny* an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the *wild* Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion.

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dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other ſervice than to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who tranſport themſelves, are ſettled in thoſe interjacent tracts, as a ſcreen againſt the inſults of the *ſavages;* and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reaſonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a *hundred* years purchaſe by their labour. Now, beſides the *fox*'s reaſon, * which inclines all thoſe who have already ventured thither to repreſent every thing in a falſe light, as well for juſtifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their miſery; the governing people in thoſe plantations have alſo wiſely provided, that no letters ſhall be ſuffered to paſs from thence hither, without being firſt viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally diſcovered ſome months ago by an honeſt man, who having tranſported himſelf and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of ſuch a voyage, and to diſcourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little

* The fox who, having loſt his tail, would have perſuaded the reſt to cut off theirs.

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little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a *fever* to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy just at his back; so, men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution: for I know how criminal the least complaint hath been thought, however seasonable, or just, or honestly intended; which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the *gout*; which, beside the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up, without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but *villains* and *betrayers* of their country can be your *enemies*. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort; and therefore, as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

County of Down, A. NORTH.
Dec. 2. 1728.

A short

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A ſhort CHARACTER of his Excellency THOMAS EARL of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland :—With an Account of ſome ſmaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

Aug. 30. 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhment, are uſually digeſted under the heads of the ſeveral governors : but the affairs and events of that iſland, for ſome years paſt, have been either ſo inſignificant, or ſo annexed to thoſe of England, that they have not furniſhed matter of any great importance to hiſtory. The ſhare of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom ; the reſt, which relates to politics or the art of government, is inconſiderable to the laſt degree, however it may be repreſented at court by thoſe who preſide there, and would value themſelves upon every ſtep they make, towards finiſhing the ſlavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally ſpeaking, the times which afford moſt plentiful matter for ſtory, are thoſe in which a man would leaſt chooſe to live ; ſuch as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one, and laſtly, the arbitrary, un-

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lawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours: but the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his excellency T. E. of W. a short account of his government, may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next. And because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency, than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach: which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling, and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In

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In the ſame manner, his excellency is one whom I neither perſonally love nor hate. I ſee him at court, at his own houſe, and ſometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his viſits) and when theſe papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occaſion, that he is damnably mauled; and then with the eaſieſt tranſition in the world, aſk about the weather, or time of the day: ſo that I enter on the work with more chearfulneſs, becauſe I am ſure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happineſs and ſecurity to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philoſopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by firſt giving a character of his excellency, and then relating ſome facts during his government, which will ſerve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are beſt known from their actions; but, theſe being confined to his adminiſtration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in ſomething more, which the narrowneſs of the time, or the ſcene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

T——s earl of W——n, l—d l——t of I——d, by the force of a wonderful conſtitution, hath paſſed, ſome years, his grand climacteric, without any viſible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in ſpite of a continual proſtitution to thoſe vices which uſually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether

ther he walks, or whiſtles, or ſwears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himſelf in each beyond a templar of three years ſtanding. With the ſame grace, and in the ſame ſtyle, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the ſtreet, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without conſequence, becauſe it is in his character, and what every body expects. He ſeems to be but an ill diſſembler, and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he moſt practiſes, and moſt values himſelf upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being ſometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of thoſe that hear him to be his enemies, and is ſure they will diſcover them the moment they leave him. He ſwears ſolemnly he loves, and will ſerve you; and your back is no ſooner turned, but he tells thoſe about him you are a dog and a raſcal. He goes conſtantly to prayers, in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blaſphemy at the chapel door. He is a preſbyterian in politics, and an atheiſt in religion; but he chooſes at preſent to whore with a papiſt. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is, to endeavour to impoſe on their underſtanding; for which he has but one receipt, a compoſition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty ſhillings and a privy counſellor; by which the eaſy and the honeſt are

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often either deceived or amuſed; and, either way, he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, becauſe you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or ſend for you, as if nothing at all had paſſed, lay his hands, with much friendſhip, on your ſhoulders, and, with the greateſt eaſe and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at ſomething in the houſe; that you muſt be ſure to attend, and to ſpeak to all your friends to be there, though he knows, at the ſame time, that you and your friends are againſt him in the very point he mentions: and, however abſurd, ridiculous and groſs this may appear, he has often found it ſucceſsful, ſome men having ſuch an awkward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to refuſe on a ſudden, and every man having ſomething to fear or hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath ſunk his fortune, by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another. With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics; ſo that bawdy, profaneneſs, and buſineſs, fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he makes uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſes in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dex-

terous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For, as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks, by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow, of course, whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoic; and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together: since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He

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He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character: I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me just as he recollected them; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq; chirurgeon-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country house, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report,

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port, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent: he had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment: at the same time, he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over to make his court one Dr. L—d, f——w of D——n C——ge, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom B—d—k, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: the Doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady,

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lady, he thought, by addreſſing there, to have a ſhort open paſſage to preferment. He met with great ſucceſs in his amour; and walking one day with his miſtreſs, after my lord and lady, in the caſtle garden, my lady ſaid to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to loſe poor "Foydy," a name of fondneſs they uſually gave her. "How do you mean?" ſaid my lord. "Why, the doctor behind us is reſolved to take "her from us." "Is he, by G—d? why then "(G—d d—mn me) he ſhall have the firſt bi-"ſhopric that falls." *

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a moſt violent lover, returned with his excellency for England; and ſoon after the b——p—k of C—k falling void, to ſhew he meant fair, he married his damſel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the biſhopric; but the matter was reckoned ſo infamous, that both the a—chb——ps here, eſpecially his gr—ce of Y—k, interpoſed with the queen, to hinder ſo great a ſcandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, provoſt of Dublin college, being then in town, her majeſty was pleaſed to nominate him: ſo that Dr. L—d was forced to ſit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a ſweet lady, who brought this her firſt huſband no other portion, than a couple of olive-branches

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this ſubject, he once ſaid, with great pleaſure, that he hoped to make his w—e a b——p.

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branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown; Dr. Benjamin P—tt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the house of commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the Duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here, when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependent on the duke of Ormond: however, he had many friends among the bishops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen: at the same time, there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had much the advantage of P—tt in point of seniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense: he had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to

injure

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injure the college, by recommending persons from this side, at last set up H—ll, with all imaginable zeal, against P—tt. I tell this story the more fully, because it is affirmed, by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill than at this time, to stop Dr. P—tt's promotion, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially that of his chaplain Dr. L—d. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees, who sometimes could not conceal his surprize, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other: these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppose him more, his excellency went immediately to the bishop of E—y, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr. P—tt should be provost; which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message: though, at the same time, he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for

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for ſo open a proceeding; the affair was now paſt diſſembling; and his excellency owned, he did not oppoſe him *directly*, but confeſſed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor, a little warmed, ſaid, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, "but *indirectly* you did." The concluſion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and, as a further mortification, juſt upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I muſt deſire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digeſt the following facts in ſo good a manner as I intended; becauſe it is thought expedient, for ſome reaſons, that the world ſhould be informed of his excellency's merits as ſoon as poſſible. I will therefore only tranſcribe the ſeveral paſſages as they were ſent me from Dublin, without either correcting the ſtile, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may ſerve for hints to any perſon, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

A RELA-

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A RELATION of ſeveral FACTS, exactly as they were tranſmitted to me from Ireland about three Months ago, and at ſeveral times, from a Perſon of Quality, and in Employment there.

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majeſty's ſervice abroad, on the 27th of Auguſt 1709, and left their horſes behind them, which were ſubſiſted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horſes of lieutenant-general Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raiſed, and ſtill commanded by the duke of Ormond; on which occaſion the duke had her majeſty's orders only for as much money as would ſupply the charge of the horſes till the regiment was raiſed, which was ſoon after, and then it was put on the eſtabliſhment, as other regiments. But that which was to ſupply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commiſſion granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of Auguſt to that time (being above 5700*l.*) was taken under pretence of keeping the horſes, buying new ones in the room of ſuch as ſhould be wanting or unſerviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horſes. As for the laſt uſe, thoſe are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of Ormond did ſo: as for horſes wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to pro-

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vide them another way; the keeping the horſes did not amount to 700 *l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament; ſo there was at leaſt 5000 *l.* charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. L—d, at firſt coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of ſelling it for about 200 *l.* but at laſt was told ſhe muſt expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other ſervants, would deſerve a conſideration for their attendance; accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night; and, to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play: ſo that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000 *l.*; of which a ſmall ſhare was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the reſt made a perquiſite to his excellency. For Mrs. L—d having an huſband, and a biſhopric promiſed her, the other pretenſions were cut off.

He met lieutenant general Langſton in the court of requeſts, and preſented a gentleman to him, ſaying, "This is a particular friend of "mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your "regiment; I muſt deſire you will take the firſt "opportunity to give him a troop, and you will "oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general anſwered, "He had ſerved very well, and had "very good pretenſions to a troop, and that he "would give him the firſt that fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well ſatisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency

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excellency ſaid immediately, " I was forced to " ſpeak for him, as a great many of his friends " have votes at elections; but, damn him, he " is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one M—y to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honeſt gentleman, and deſired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promiſed. So M—y withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, his lordſhip immediately ſaid to the duke, " That fellow is the " greateſt rogue in Chriſtendom."

Colonel C—w—d having received pay, for ſome time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other ſervice to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretenſions enough to riſe, after he had ſold the laſt employment he had, applied to his excellency, who repreſented him in ſuch a light, that he got above 900 l. as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a penſion of 10 s. *per* day; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body elſe did too much for his pretenſions, gave in a ſecond petition to the queen for a further addition of 10 s. a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report; by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be ſtill farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above ſixty years old, without aſſigning any cauſe; and they are now ſtarving.

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As for the buſineſs of the arſenal, it was the product of chance, and never ſo much as thought of by the perſons who, of late, have given ſo many good reaſons for the building of it; till, upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out ſo well, that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds; otherwiſe, his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: upon this occaſion, many projects were propoſed, all which, at laſt, gave way to the propoſal of a worthy perſon, who had often perſuaded the nation to do itſelf a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itſelf a little good; which was, that forty thouſand arms ſhould be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arſenals to be built for that purpoſe: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his uſual ſincerity, declared, he would not conſent to the giving of money for any other uſe; as every body thought, by the words he ſpoke; though afterwards he ſhewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his conſent to the bill, but uſed all the art and induſtry he was maſter of, to have it paſs; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arſenal only, and ammunition and other ſtores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arſenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands

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hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his ſecond ſecretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaſter, whoſe ſalary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too ſmall a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an eſtabliſhment for that work, conſiſting of one ſuperintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overſeers at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a-week, and ſixteen aſſiſtants at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a-week, making in all ſeventeen pounds eight ſhillings a-week: and theſe were, for the greater part, perſons who had no knowledge of ſuch buſineſs; and their honeſty was equal to their knowledge, as it has ſince appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out againſt them, inſomuch, that the work that they have overſeen, which, with their ſalary, has coſt near 3000 l. might have been done for leſs than 1800 l. if it had been agreed for by the yard; which is the uſual method, and was ſo propoſed in the eſtimate. And this is all a certainty, becauſe all that has been done, was only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been ſo agreed for.

Philip S—v—ge, Eſq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commiſſioners of the revenue for ſealing writs in the queen's buſi-

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nefs, and fhewed them for it fome precedents; but they, not being well fatisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commiffioners, then in London, to inquire into the practice there. He fent them word, upon inquiry, that fees were paid there, upon the like cafes; fo they adjudged it for him, and conftantly paid him fees. If, therefore, there was a fault, it muft ly at their door, for he never offered to ftop the bufinefs; yet his excellency knew fo well how to choofe an attorney and folicitor-general, that, when the cafe was referred to them, they gave it againft the chancellor, and faid, he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds *per annum;* but never found any fault in the commiffioners, who adjudged the cafe for him, and might have refufed him the money, if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert F——d, father to the prefent e—l of K——e, had a grant from king Charles II. of the office of comptroller of the mufters, during the lives of captain C——s B——n, now e—l of M——h, and George F——d, elder brother to the prefent e—l of K——e; which the faid Robert F——d enjoyed, with a falary of 300 l. *per annum*, and, after his death, his fon George enjoyed it; till my lord G—lw—y did, by threats, compel him to furrender the faid patent for a penfion of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago, the prefent e—l of K——e, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himfelf to be injured by the

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ſurrender of ſaid patent, which ſhould have come to him, the e——l of M——h being ſtill living: therefore, in order to right himſelf, did petition her majeſty; which petition, as uſual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant; who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on ſuch occaſions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general Ingoldſby, the then lords juſtices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire, whether the e——l of K——e had any legal title to ſaid patent, which he, in a full report, ſaid he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treaſurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was uſeful and neceſſary for her majeſty's ſervice. He gave in his report, and ſaid, he thought it both uſeful and neceſſary; and, with more honeſty than wit, gave the following reaſons: firſt, that the muſter-maſter general computed the pay of the whole military liſt, which is above two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*: ſo, having no check on him, might commit miſtakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, ſecondly, becauſe he had himſelf found out ſeveral of thoſe miſtakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords juſtices approved of theſe reaſons, and ſo ſent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office uſeful and neceſſary; but colonel P——r, the muſter-maſter general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant

tenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report as ever she had done against the tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: though, since it has been plainly made appear, that, for want of some control in that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds, by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been enquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and, of course, all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A captain in the old-

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eſt regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with ſervice, deſired leave to ſell; which was granted him; and accordingly, for a conſideration agreed upon, he gave a reſignation of his company to a perſon approved of by the commander of the regiment; who, at the ſame time, applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majeſty's ſervice in Spain, and abſent by her majeſty's licence: his excellency hearing that, ſaid, they might give him a company in Spain, for he would diſpoſe of this here; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly ſurrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a diſputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was ſurrendered. Talking one morning, as he was dreſſing, (at leaſt a dozen people preſent) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he ſaid, the lord chief juſtice D—— had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown ſtripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expreſſion again: yet, ſome days after, ſent Dr. L——d to aſſure his lordſhip, he ſaid no ſuch thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he uſed his utmoſt efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to ſay to them, particularly to lord chief

chief juſtice D——, that, perhaps, ſome officious perſons might ſpread ſtories, that he had endeavoured to do ſome of them a prejudice in England, which, he aſſured them, he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without diſtinction, ſhew his regard according to merit; which the lord chief juſtice B—— was pleaſed to approve of, by ſaying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; though he knew the contrary himſelf.

In England he bid Mr. Deering aſſure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themſelves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleaſed, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and as ſoon as his back was turned, he jeeringly ſaid, "D—mn me, how eaſily he is "bit." When the Duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderſon Saunders the government of Wicklow-caſtle, which has no ſalary, but a perquiſite of ſome land worth about 12 l. *per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-ſchool of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the perſon or the uſe, without any ceremony, or reaſon given, ſuperſeded him, by giving a commiſſion for it to J—s the horſe-courſer, who lies under ſeveral odious and ſcandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly eſcaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his excellency landing the ſecond time, he ſent for Mr. Saunders, among others, deſiring their good offices in the enſuing ſeſſion, and that Mr. Saunders

ders would not take amiſs his giving that place to J—s, for he aſſured him he did not know it belonged to him, which is highly probable, becauſe men of his knowledge uſually give away things, without enquiring how they are in their diſpoſal. Mr. Saunders anſwered him, "He was very glad "to find what was done was not out of any par-"ticular diſpleaſure to him, becauſe Mr. Whit-"ſhed had ſaid at Wicklow, by way of apology "for what his excellency had done, that it was "occaſioned by Mr. Saunders having it; and "ſeeing his excellency had no ill intention againſt "him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was "not legally given away, for he had a cuſto-"dium for the land out of the court of exche-"quer; ſo his excellency's commiſſion could do "him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-general Echlin had pay on this eſtabliſhment as brigadier, till the middle of October 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, becauſe his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant-general G—— was put in his room. Some time after, major-general Rook, conſidering the reaſon why Echlin was removed, concluded, that G—— could not come on, till ſome time in February after, becauſe his regiment was alſo out of the kingdom till that time; and therefore, he being the eldeſt general officer, that had no pay as ſuch, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed till G—— was qualified to receive it; he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing

ing the reaſon, owned it to be a very good one, and told him if the money were not paid to G— he ſhould have it, ſo bid him go ſee; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his caſe to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he ſaid muſt needs be in his favour; and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers ſat, he ſent for ſeveral of them, and made them give the caſe againſt Rook.

When the proſecution againſt the diſſenting miniſters in Drogheda was depending, one Stephens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, ſent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the ſaid diſſenting miniſter, in behalf of himſelf and others who lay under any ſuch proſecution; and, in about a fortnight's time, his excellency ſent over a letter, to the then lords juſtices, to give the attorney and ſolicitor general's orders, to enter a *noli proſequi* to all ſuch ſuits: which was done accordingly, though he never ſo much as enquired into the merit of the cauſe, or referred the petition to any body, which is a juſtice done to all men, let the caſe be never ſo light. He ſaid he had her majeſty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can deſcend to ſmall gains, take this inſtance: there was 850l. ordered by her majeſty to buy new liveries for the ſtate trumpets, meſſengers, &c.; but with great induſtry he got them

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them made cheaper by 200 l. which he ſaved out of that ſum; and it is reported, that his ſteward got a handſome conſideration beſide, from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being ſo alſo to others, bought a lieutenant's commiſſion in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which ſervice pleaſed his excellency ſo well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleaſure was known, the former was diſpoſed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a ſolicitor general without the queen's letter, it being one of thoſe employments excepted out of his commiſſion; yet, becauſe Sir R— L— diſobliged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. F——, though he had no queen's letter for ſo doing, only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle that her majeſty deſigned to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland, have a great ſhare of the adminiſtration, all things being carried by the conſent of the majority, and they ſign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency diſliked ſo great a ſhare of power in any but himſelf: and when matters were debated in council, otherwiſe than he approved, he would ſtop them, and ſay, "*Come, my lords, I ſee how your opinions are, and* "*therefore I will not take your votes;*" and ſo would put an end to the diſpute.

One of his chief favourites was a ſcandalous clergyman, a conſtant companion of his pleaſures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and ſharer of all the lewd and blaſphemous diſcourſes of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency preſented this worthy divine to one of the b—ps, with the following recommendation: "My lord, "M—— is a very honeſt fellow, and has no fault "but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been ſo infamous, that a b——p in England refuſed to admit him to a living he had been preſented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of I—— to be one of the lords juſtices in his abſence, and was much mortified, when he found lieutenant-general I——by appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly becauſe the uſual ſalary of a lord juſtice in the lord lieutenant's abſence, is 100 l. *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40 l.

I will ſend you in a packet or two, ſome particulars of his excellency's uſage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. C—ngſby, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magiſtrate in Trim, his barbarous injuſtice to dean Jephſon, and poor Will Crow; his deciding a caſe at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in ſo ſcandalous and unfair a manner, that the arranteſt ſharper would be aſhamed of; the common cuſtom of playing

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playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. L——d and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages, which, I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the stile, and publish as speedy as you can.

Note, Mr. S——ge, besides the persecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency. *The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.*

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REMARKS on Dr. SWIFT's TRACTS relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr. DEANE SWIFT's ESSAY.

These tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almost all other points of history, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their several views and interests in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr. Swift, and particularly the Drapier's letters, are founded on the secure basis of the laws of his country, and supported throughout the whole with the warmest zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of those who are not unworthy to enjoy the blessings of our constitution. For although it be a truth scarce ever regarded, the subject matter which happens to give rise to any political treatise whatsoever is but of little consequence; that spirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepest of our attention, let what age or nation soever boast of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of these nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the dead adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inspired like Dr. Swift to apprise them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider, therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wise, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late years.

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years which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes? But, thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political principles of Dr. Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your children's children; and above all things, remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon those men, who by their words, their actions, and other wicked insinuating artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will approve themselves to their masters to be corrupted slaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece entitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland, written in* 1727, [above, p. 113.] I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it, [above, p. 123.] For surely among all the pleasures and delights which have any respect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the prosperity of our country. But, alas! the miseries of Ireland being the effects of a thousand causes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At least all remedies but one (which is, abolishing the use of gold and silver out of the whole community; a scheme too philosophical, and perhaps too chimerical for so corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be so exceedingly desperate, that I verily believe it would require a legislator equal to the conductor of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flourishing people, notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder, that any man could possibly reside, for the greater part of eighteen years, in Ireland, without remarking, to his infinite regret, that no people in the Christian world are so destitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithstanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the most favoured country upon earth. *Optima natio, pessima gens*, was, I remember, Dr. Swift's periphrasis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raised against the absurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *short view*, the Doctor enumerates fourteen causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich, and then examines

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what effects arise from these causes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that some few alterations have taken place since 1727. But whether, in fact, these alterations have at all contributed to the interest of the weal-public; or whether it appears they have have had the least effect towards banishing complaint from our streets, is at present one of the points to be considered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr. Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but insist upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen, is just in the same condition, and labours under the same disadvantages, this present year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With respect to the seventh article [above, p. 114. 118.] which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worse situation at present than it was in 1727, notwithstanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain, that great improvements, and particularly the finest roads perhaps in the world, have been made since that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by Lord Orrery [above p. 123.] that agriculture is cultivated (i. e. that the culture of land is cultivated) in Ireland; the greater part of the husbandmen, the labourers and the poor, have, merely for the sake of those cursed cattle, which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and banished the country, helpless, naked, and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above p. 115. 119.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madness, their luxury, and disregard to all public interest, are, by many degrees, in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the most common necessaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes, being, to the shame and confusion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their spices.

As to the pamphlet entitled, *A modest proposal, &c.* [above, p. 335.] it is a humorous treatise, equally the product of despair and benevolence; and seemeth to have been written in the bitterness of the Dean's soul, and principally addressed to the consideration of those merciless tyrants which starve and oppress their fellow creatures, even to the shame and destruction of their country.

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country. His propoſal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and ſell their carcaſes to the rich; a food which he declares to be *very proper for landlords;* who, as they have already devoured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title to their children.

As to Dr. Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cauſe of chriſtianity are expreſsly and immediately concerned, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that Swift, being a thorough maſter of politics, and far beyond all the wiſeſt of his contemporaries, deeply verſed in the hiſtory of parties, could diſcover, at a ſurpriſing diſtance, the natural conſequences of thoſe efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flouriſhed, to ſubvert our happy conſtitution both of church and ſtate; inſomuch that he appears, from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the moſt ſagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Chriſt.

END OF VOL. IV.

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